

PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE



THE PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE DISTRICT
IN UNITED STATES HISTORY

A Report on the National Significance of
Pennsylvania Avenue and Historically Related Environs,
Washington, D. C.

1965

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

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FOREWORD

The following study describes the historical associations of the Pennsylvania Avenue district bounded roughly by the White House and the Capitol on the east and west and Constitution Avenue and G Street on the south and north as a basis for evaluating its national historical significance within the meaning of the Historic Sites Act of August 21, 1935. Its distinction rests on the symbolic values derived from the ceremonial role Pennsylvania Avenue has played in national life for a century and a half, on the association of the district during these years with men and events of national consequence in American history, and on the survival of a group of historic buildings individually of significance in the history of the United States.

This study, prepared by the Division of History Studies, National Park Service, is the result of a collaborative effort by John W. Bond, Francis R. Holland, Steven R. Lewis, Robert M. Utley, and Rogers W. Young, assisted materially by Robert J. Kerr, Edward T. Foote, and Miss Eleanor McPeck of the President's Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue.

THE NATION'S CEREMONIAL WAY

With the passage of time, particular buildings and places in a capital city come to symbolize the majesty and power of the national government. In a democratic society it is usually a public place rather than a building that stands for the common weal. Ancient Athens had its Agora, Rome its Forum, and Paris its Place Bastille. In such historic places did nations experience their moments of glory and sorrow.

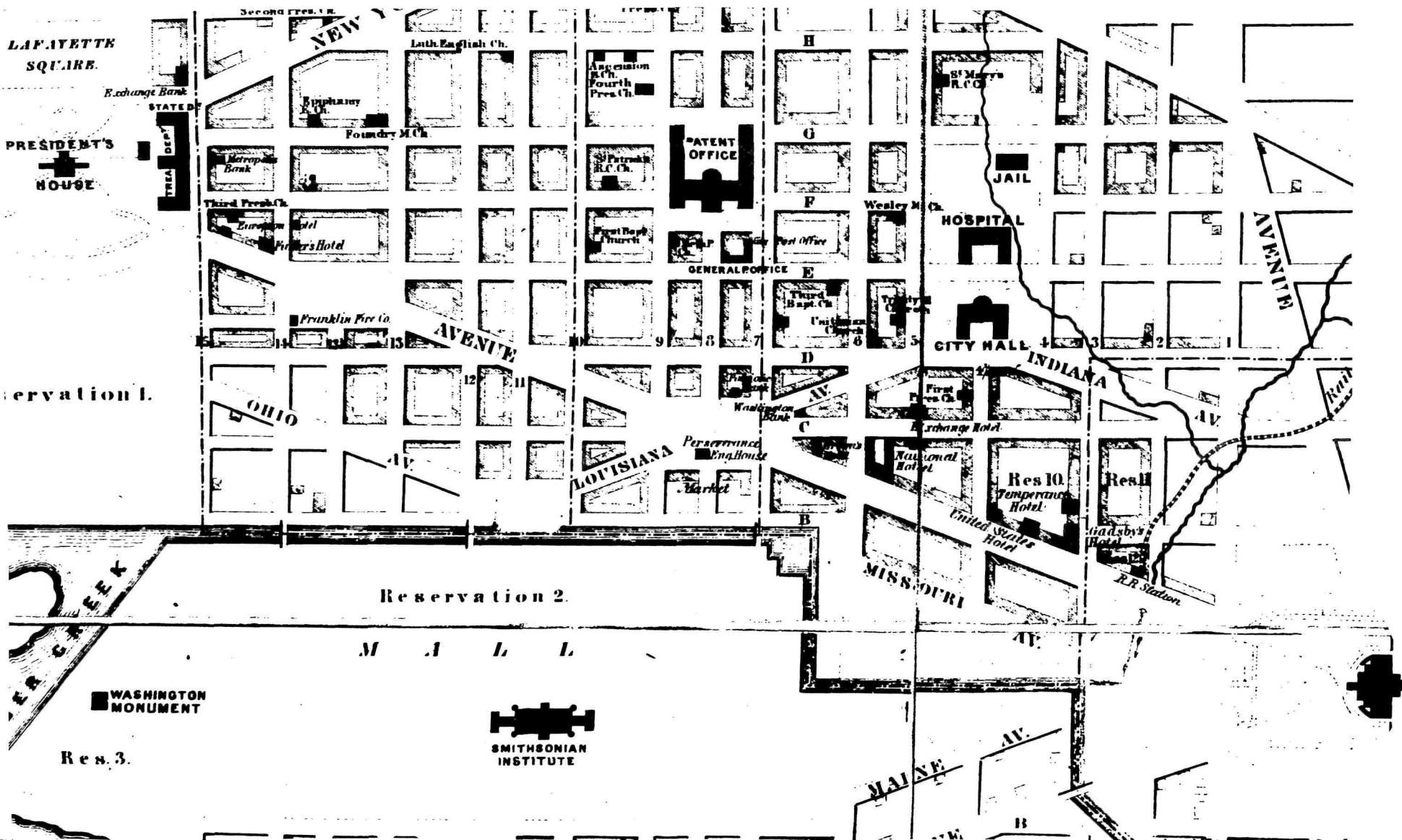
In the United States a great avenue serves this purpose. For more than a century and a half, the segment of Pennsylvania Avenue between the White House and the Capitol in Washington, D. C., has formed the Nation's undisputed ceremonial route and has symbolized the triumphs and tragedies of the American people.

The physical evolution of Pennsylvania Avenue as a ceremonial route began in 1791, when Maj. Pierre L'Enfant, designer of the newly authorized capital city on the Potomac, fixed the alignment of the street connecting the "President's House" and "Congress House." Planned as the shortest distance between the Capitol and the Executive Mansion, it was laid out as the widest street in the city and was the first to be paved. Despite the Lombardy Poplars with which Thomas Jefferson embellished it in 1803, however, the key stretch of the Avenue developed a nondescript face that contrasted drably with the imposing public edifices at each end.

Not until the 20th century did men work meaningfully toward creating a setting befitting the ceremonial role the Avenue had come to play in national life.

The ceremonial role took shape early in the capital's history. Thomas Jefferson set the precedent in 1805 by riding horseback up the Avenue to the Capitol to take the Presidential oath of office at the beginning of his second term, then returning "followed by a large assemblage of members of the Legislature, citizens, and strangers of distinction." Successive Presidents followed the custom, and the inaugural parade swiftly became a national institution--a ritualistic expression of American democratic ideals. The inaugural ceremony, witnessed by the Supreme Court and the Congress, vests the President with his powers and duties as Chief Executive. Following the inauguration, the procession from the Capitol to the White House symbolizes the assumption of these powers and duties while it gives the Nation its first view of the new Chief of State.

Other ceremonies enlarged the role. Along the Avenue in death traveled seven Presidents and numerous national leaders in state funeral processions that expressed the Nation's sense of loss. Along it occurred victory celebrations signaling the close of four major wars. On it occurred public ceremonies celebrating great national achievements. On it the Nation received foreign heads of state and visiting dignitaries. And on it the Nation acclaimed military, civil, and scientific heroes.



Pennsylvania Avenue
from map of Washington in 1850,
James Keily, Surveyor,
Lloyd Van Derveer, Publisher

Thus is Pennsylvania Avenue a bond between the Nation and its capital, capturing in its ceremonies the tempo and temper of American life and reflecting them back on every corner of the land.

Inaugural Parades

The quadrennial inaugural parade furnishes meaningful continuity to the ceremonial role of Pennsylvania Avenue. Processions of varying dignity and pageantry have honored every Chief Executive since Jefferson who claimed office by election. John Tyler, Millard Fillmore, Andrew Johnson, and Chester A. Arthur, Vice Presidents who ascended to the Presidency on the death of an incumbent but did not win election in their own right, were the only successors to Jefferson not escorted along Pennsylvania Avenue by an inaugural parade.

The parades have usually reflected in their composition and tone something of the character of the man they ushered into office, and hence something of the historical forces that brought him to power. Not coincidentally have some of the inaugural festivities dramatically and unmistakably portended an abrupt change of direction in the country's history.

Andrew Jackson's elevation to the Presidency marked such a change, and his inaugural "parade" forecast the revolutionary character of the new course on which the United States had embarked. On March 4, 1829, the new Chief of State walked from his rooms in the National Hotel at 6th and Pennsylvania to the Capitol for the swearing-in ceremony.

Afterward, having refused a military escort, he rode down Pennsylvania Avenue on horseback, followed by a throng of rough-hewn admirers. They were unwashed and unlettered, but they were the people who had put him in office. The chaotic parade and the scenes of exuberance and disorder in which it culminated at the White House signaled the beginning of the era of Jacksonian Democracy. No longer would government remain exclusively the preserve of a privileged elite on the Atlantic Seaboard. Henceforth "the people" and the West would make their voices heard in national councils too.¹

Contrasting vividly with the democracy of Jackson's progress down the Avenue, the pomp and color of James K. Polk's inaugural parade 16 years later mirrored the expansionist mood of the country. Regular Army and militia units, war veterans, bands, Supreme Court Justices, Members of Congress, the Diplomatic Corps, marching clubs, and others formed a huge parade that escorted a barouche bearing Polk and the retiring President Tyler up the Avenue to the Capitol. Even a deluge of rain failed to dampen the enthusiasm of the marchers and onlookers.² "Manifest Destiny" was Polk's slogan, and within three years he had given effect to it by leading the Nation in its first war on foreign soil and by bringing its western borders to rest on the shores of the Pacific Ocean. Polk's journey up the Avenue on March 4, 1845, opened a new

1. Stefan Lorant, The Presidency (New York, 1951), p. 111.
Marquis James, The Life of Andrew Jackson (New York, 1938), p. 494.

2. Martha McBride Morrel, Young Hickory: The Life and Times of President James K. Polk (New York, 1949), p. 245.

chapter in the history of the westward movement, one that chronicled the conquest of the plains, mountains, and deserts beyond the Missouri and that officially ended nearly half a century later when the Census Bureau could no longer trace a distinct frontier of settlement on the map of the West.

The inauguration of March 4, 1861, symbolized another and far more ominous national destiny. Several Southern states had already seceded from the Union. Fear and distrust gripped North and South alike. The life of the President-elect had been threatened. Cannon commanded both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue, armed guards picketed the cross streets, and riflemen dotted the rooftops overlooking the parade route. The city swarmed with "brawny young Republicans" determined to see their first successful standard-bearer installed in office.

Abraham Lincoln had taken rooms at Willard's Hotel on Pennsylvania Avenue at 14th Street. President Buchanan stopped for him there, and together the two rode in an open carriage up the Avenue to the Capitol. Cavalrymen surrounded the vehicle so closely that spectators complained of not even glimpsing the new President. Military units, brightly dressed civilians, and a contingent of 500 local Republicans formed the parade. It featured a float drawn by six white horses and bearing a white-robed girl for each state and territory; the housing displayed in large block letters the word UNION.³

3. Margaret Leech, Reveille in Washington, 1860-1865 (New York, 1941), p. 43. J.G. Randall, Lincoln the President (New York, 1945), pp. 293-94.

In little more than a month after these somber and apprehensive proceedings, Fort Sumter fell and Abraham Lincoln led the Nation in the four-year struggle to restore the Union.

Civil War decided the great issues that had split the Nation, but it left one section bitterly and helplessly subservient to the other. Reconstruction inflamed the wounds of war. Not for 24 years after Lincoln's inauguration did the party identified with the South triumph in a national election, and the inauguration of its standard-bearer on March 4, 1885, expressed the new spirit of national unity that, in carrying Grover Cleveland to the White House, signified that the wounds had begun to heal.

Shortly after the new President took the oath of office, the parade formed, appropriately, at the Peace Monument at the foot of Capitol Hill. For the first time since before the war, marching units from North and South mingled prominently in the procession of 25,000 men that followed the open carriage bearing Cleveland and the outgoing President Chester A. Arthur down a Pennsylvania Avenue brilliantly festooned with bunting and jammed with thousands of spectators. Behind an entire division of Pennsylvania militia, 7,000 strong, marched the Richmond State Guards under the former Confederate General Fitzhugh Lee. North Carolina troops and a battalion of Georgians preceded the New York 69th Regiment. Party organizations from all over the country further emphasized the theme of unity. "Not since the grand review of Grant's and Sherman's troops had such a procession been seen in Washington,"

wrote Cleveland's biographer; and it typified, moreover, the "peaceful and orderly processes by which political revolutions may be effected in the United States."⁴

Perhaps more than any other President, Theodore Roosevelt stamped his inauguration with the essence of his own character. The festivities expressed his exuberance and decisiveness, and they caught the optimistic, confident, happy mood of the country during the "good years" of the early 20th century. Roosevelt had been President since 1901, when an assassin's bullet struck down William McKinley, but not until March 4, 1905, could he glory in being "President in my own right."

The parade was a one-man show, with a contingent of the famed Rough Riders whom he had led in Cuba as supernumeraries. While the President stood red-faced in his open carriage shouting at the enthusiastic onlookers lining the way, the cavalrymen clattered down Pennsylvania Avenue at full gallop. They were vivid reminders of the "splendid little war" the United States had won six years earlier, and the units of Filipino and Puerto Rican scouts in the parade, though less spectacular, served equally as reminders of the new international responsibilities that the war had thrust on the Nation.

A band played "There'll Be a Hot Time in the Old Town Tonight," a tune by now well identified with Roosevelt's military and political

4. Allan Nevins, Grover Cleveland: A Study in Courage (New York, 1933), pp. 1-3. See also Constance McLaughlin Green, Washington: Capital City, 1879-1950 (Princeton, 1963), p. 82; and Inaugural Committee Souvenir Program, 1901.

career; grinning broadly and waving to the musicians, the President bounced rythmically to the lively strains. Among the marchers were, in Roosevelt's words, "old style Indians in their war paint and with horses" and "new Indians, the students of Hampton and Carlisle;" "sixty or seventy cowboys; farmers' clubs; mechanics' clubs;" and "a delegation of coal miners with a banner recalling that I had settled the anthracite coal strike." Altogether the inaugural parade of 1905, formed of 35,000 marchers and requiring $3\frac{1}{2}$ hours to pass the reviewing stand, was one of the largest and most colorful and varied to usher a Chief Executive into office; rarely before or since have the people and their President been so pleased with themselves.⁵

Despair gripped the United States 28 years later, when the second Roosevelt entered the White House. At the nadir of depression, with 13 million unemployed, the future had rarely in history looked blacker. On March 4, 1933, a cheerless throng estimated at 250,000 gathered on Pennsylvania Avenue to witness the passage of Franklin Delano Roosevelt from the Capitol to the White House. He had promised the country a "new deal," and in his inaugural address he declared that "the only thing we have to fear is fear itself." Army Chief of Staff Douglas MacArthur served as Grand Marshal of a parade of bands, military units, marching clubs, floats, drum-and-bugle corps, and automobiles that took

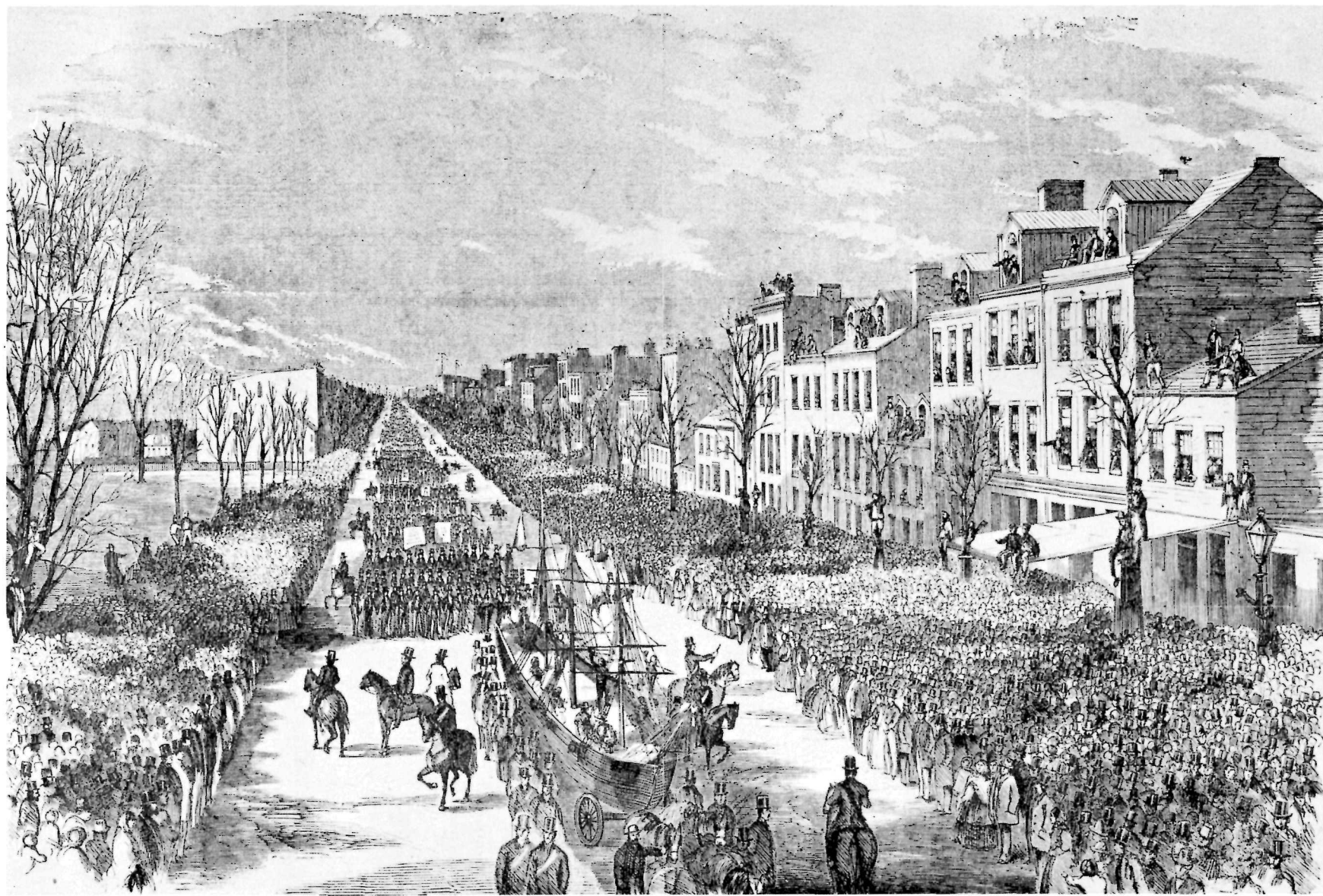
5. John and Alice Durant, Pictorial History of American Presidents (New York, 1955), p. 211. Henry F. Pringle, Theodore Roosevelt: A Biography (New York, 1931), pp. 362-65. Dixon Wecter, The Hero in America: A Chronicle of Hero-Worship (New York, 1941), p. 382. Joseph B. Bishop, Theodore Roosevelt and His Time: Shown in His Own Letters (New York, 1920), pp. 362-66.

nearly four hours to pass the reviewing stand. The new President beamed his characteristic smile and waved, a band played "Happy Days Are Here Again," and the crowds, observed the Washington Post, "seemed to swing into the spirit of the occasion." The glimmer of hope Roosevelt had sparked in the Nation manifested itself among the spectators on Pennsylvania Avenue. "The crowds were so tremendous," remarked Mrs. Roosevelt afterward, "and you felt that they would do anything if only someone would tell them what to do." That evening, as she and the children attended the inaugural ball, the new President met with Cabinet officers in the White House to shape the first of the measures telling the country what to do.⁶

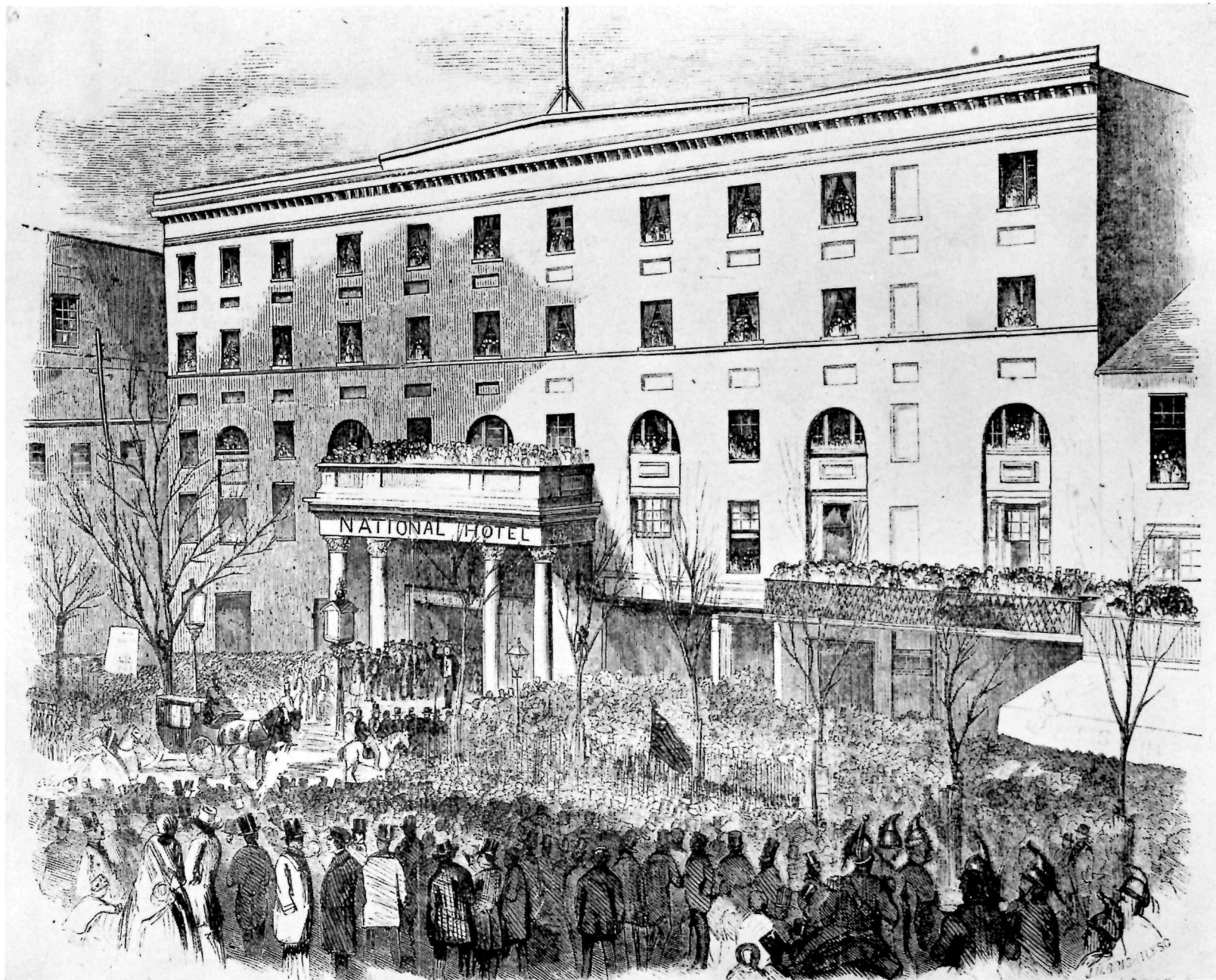
State Funeral Processions

As Pennsylvania Avenue is the stage on which the people acclaim a new Chief of State, so also it is the scene for recording their sorrow and sense of loss when a President or other national leader dies. To the beat of muffled drums, the clatter of flag-draped caisson, and the slow cadence of marching units, the Avenue bears the state funeral processions of honored statesmen and military heroes. This somber proceeding, expressing a national mood no less than the inaugural parade, deepens the Avenue's ceremonial meaning in national life.

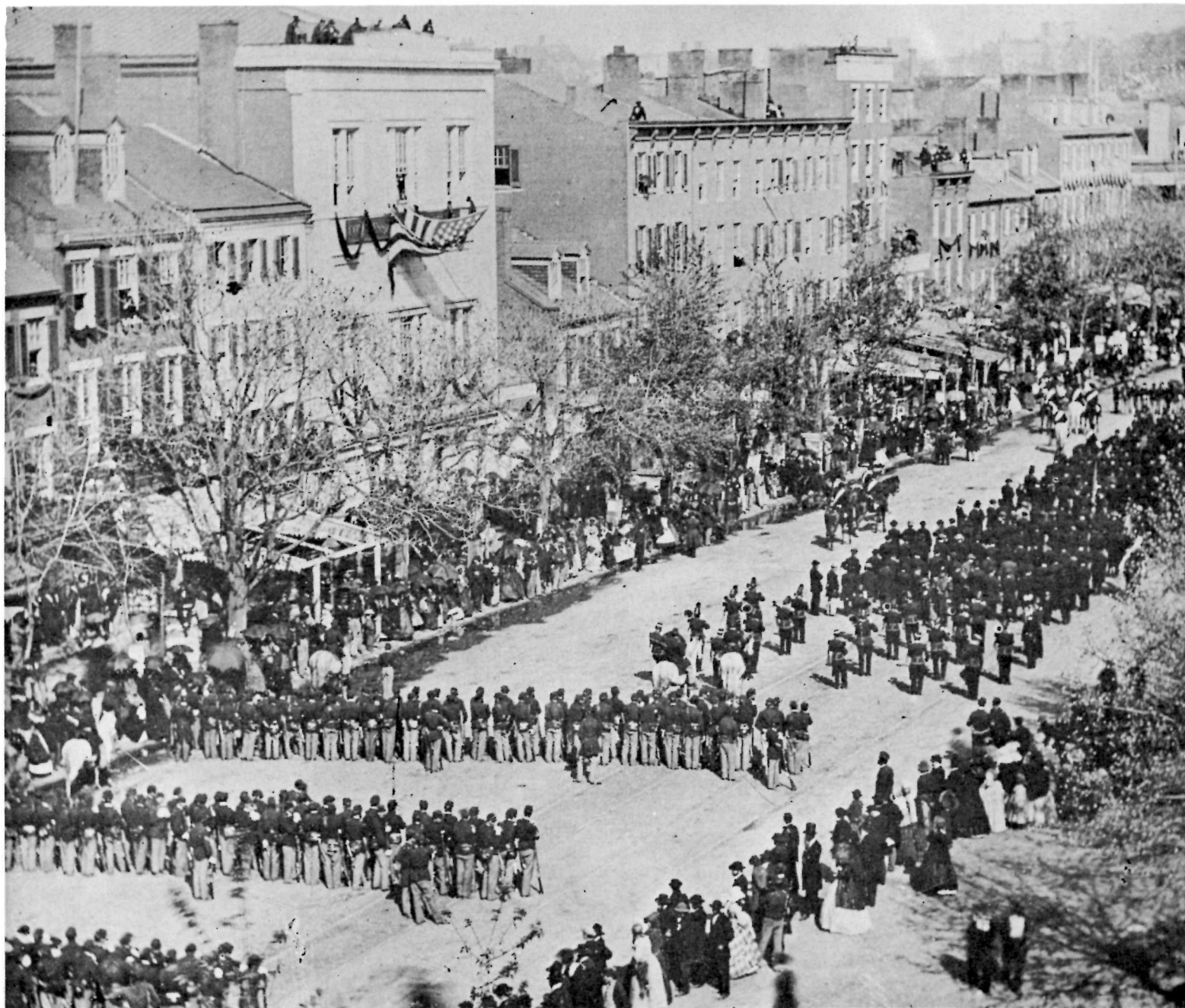
6. James MacGregor Burns, Roosevelt: The Lion and the Fox (New York, 1956), pp. 163, 165. Robert D. Graff, Robert E. Ginna, and Roger Butterfield, FDR (New York, 1962), p. 87. Washington Post, March 5, 1933.



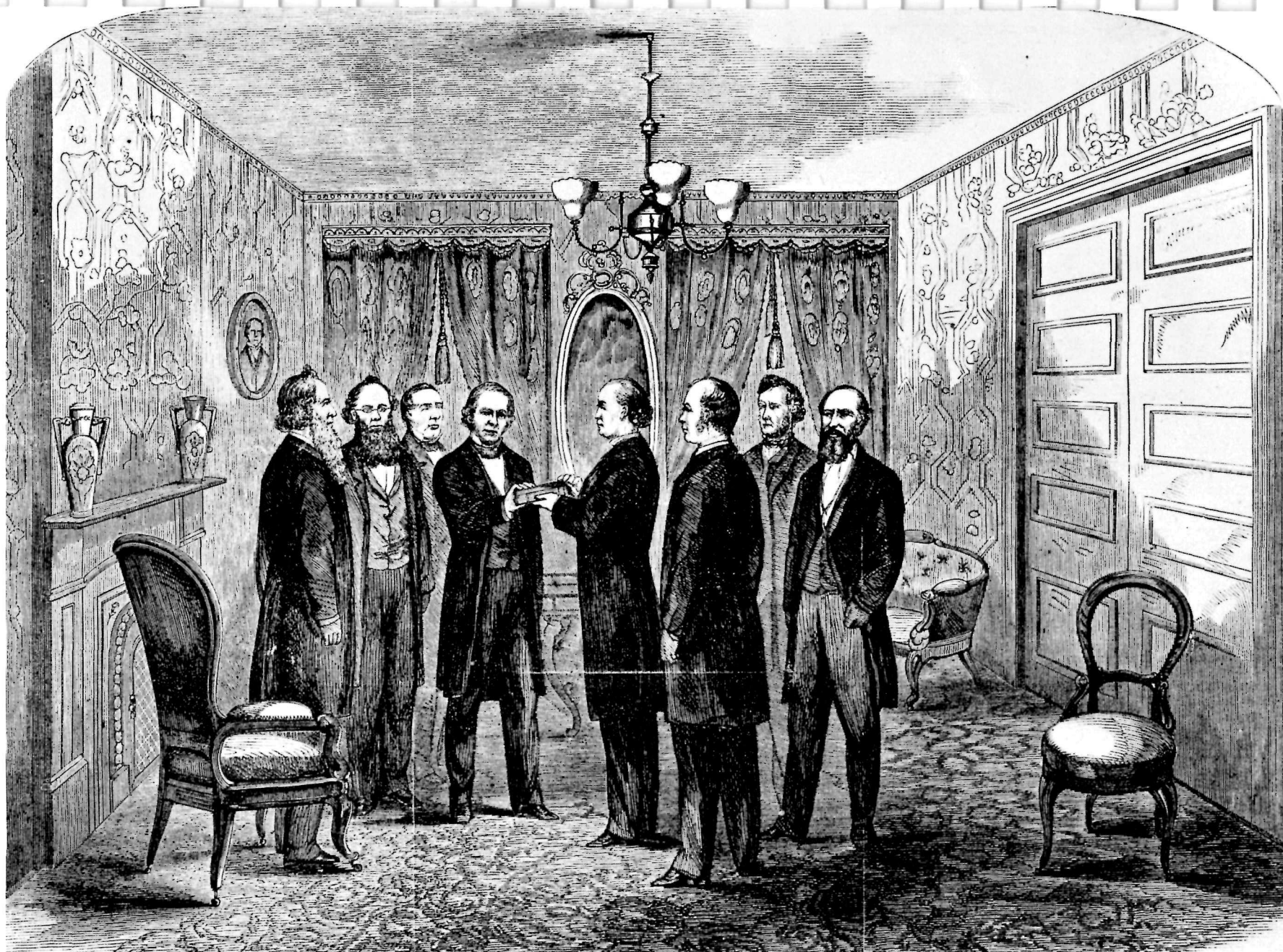
The "Ship of State," part of Buchanan's inaugural procession in 1857. Library of Congress.



James Buchanan's inaugural procession in front of the National Hotel, 6th and Pennsylvania, March 4, 1857. Library of Congress.



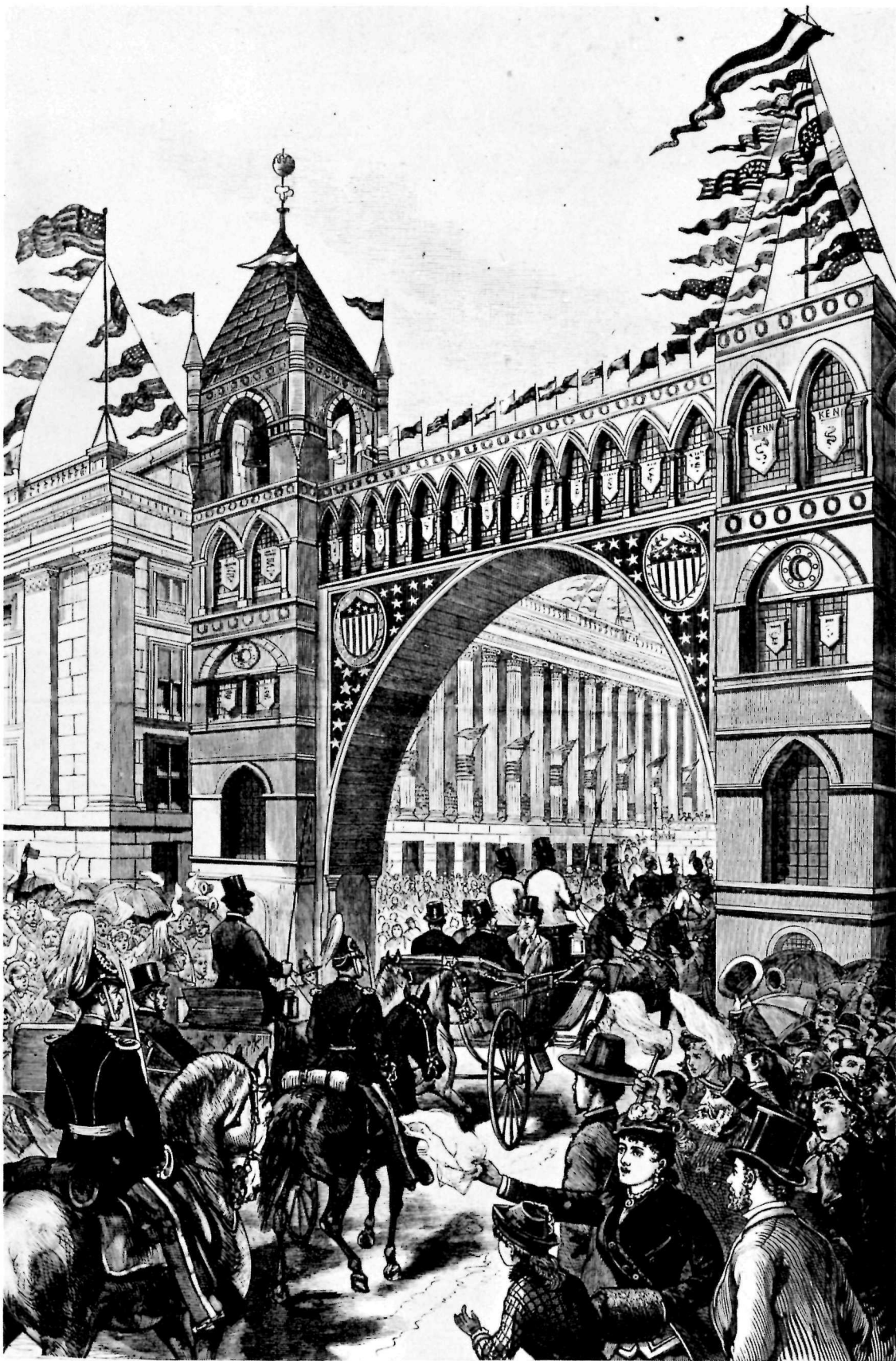
Part of the Lincoln funeral procession on Pennsylvania Avenue in May 1865. National Archives.



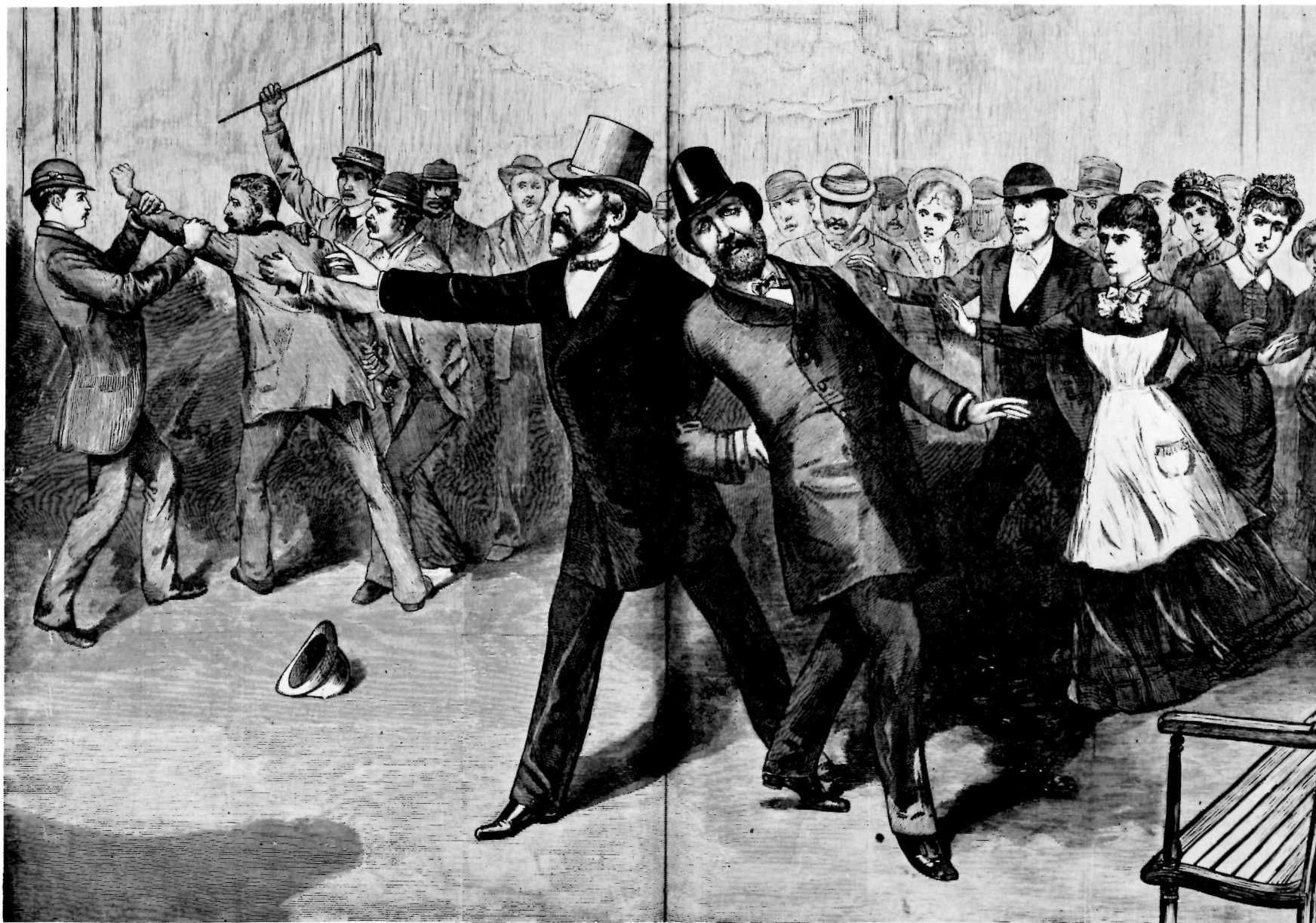
Chief Justice Chase administering the Presidential oath to Andrew Johnson on April 15, 1865, the day after Lincoln's assassination. The ceremony took place in a small parlor of the Kirkwood Hotel on Pennsylvania Avenue between 11th and 12th. Library of Congress.



View up Pennsylvania Avenue from 15th Street during the two-day grand review of the victorious Union armies, May 23-24, 1865. Pennsylvania Avenue Commission.



James A. Garfield's inaugural parade, March 4, 1881, featured a "Grand Arch" astride 15th Street next to the Treasury. An artist for Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper shows the Presidential carriage passing beneath the arch. Library of Congress.



On July 2, 1881, in the waiting room of the B & P depot at 6th and B Streets, Charles Guiteau shot and mortally wounded President James A. Garfield. An artist for Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper recreates the scene. Next to the President, Secretary of State James G. Blaine gestures toward the assassin. Library of Congress.



President Woodrow Wilson tips hat to crowds in the 700 block of Pennsylvania Avenue as the inaugural procession of March 4, 1913, moves toward the White House. Former President William Howard Taft rides in carriage with the new President. Library of Congress.



Leading elements of the inaugural parade for Franklin D. Roosevelt, March 4, 1933, turn from Pennsylvania Avenue into 15th Street. National Archives.



On July 28, 1932, cavalry and tanks moved up Pennsylvania Avenue to evict the "Bonus Expeditionary Force" that had marched on Washington to dramatize the plight of veterans in the Great Depression. National Archives.

Eight Presidents have died in office. Four--Abraham Lincoln, James A. Garfield, William McKinley, and John F. Kennedy--fell by assassination. The other four--William Henry Harrison, Zachary Taylor, Warren G. Harding, and Franklin D. Roosevelt--died of natural causes. The state funerals of seven featured processions on Pennsylvania Avenue. That for Franklin D. Roosevelt followed Constitution Avenue.

William Henry Harrison was the first President to die in office. Worn by the inauguration festivities and the importunities of office-seekers, he caught cold and died of pneumonia on April 4, 1841, exactly one month after entering the White House. Three days later the funeral cortege moved up Pennsylvania Avenue. Black streamers festooned the buildings and crepe hung in the doorways. A funeral coach drawn by six white horses carried the body of "Old Tippecanoe." Twenty-six pallbearers represented the States of the Union. John Tyler, newly sworn in as Chief Executive, the Cabinet, former Presidents, government officials, and the Diplomatic Corps joined 14 militia companies and some regular soldiery in the solemn procession. "Old Whitey," the horse that had borne Harrison up the Avenue for the inauguration a month earlier, plodded with the marchers, saddled and with boots reversed in the stirrups. "Vast crowds of people followed in the procession," wrote John Quincy Adams, "and the Avenue from the palace to the Capitol was equally thronged."⁷

7. Charles Francis Adams, ed., Memoirs of John Quincy Adams (Philadelphia, 1876), X, 460. Samuel C. Busey, Pictures of the City of Washington in the Past (Washington, 1898), pp. 270-71, 276. Freeman Cleaves, Old Tippecanoe (New York, 1939), pp. 342-43.

Only nine years later hushed throngs once more assembled on the Avenue to witness a Presidential funeral. Zachary Taylor--"Old Rough and Ready" of Mexican War fame--had attended a Fourth of July ceremony on the site where construction of the Washington Monument had begun two years earlier. To counter the oppressive heat, the President drank quantities of ice water, later consumed cherries and iced milk. That night he came down with cholera and died on July 9, 1850. Four days later an estimated 100,000 people lined Pennsylvania Avenue against a backdrop of shops and dwellings draped in mourning to watch the procession slowly make its way to the Congressional Cemetery. Eight horses, each led by a white-turbaned groom, drew the hearse. "Whitey," the President's Mexican War charger, followed, and the heavily military column of marchers that stretched for two miles behind the hearse was colored by the imposing figure of General Winfield Scott, resplendent in black chapeau supporting a towering plume of yellow feathers.⁸

On the very eve of victory, with the time come to "bind up the Nation's wounds," the assassination of Abraham Lincoln on April 14, 1865, was so untimely, so tragic, and so fraught with historical consequence that the funeral served as the occasion for an outpouring of grief seldom equalled in American history. Following services at the White House on April 19, the casket containing the remains of the martyred President was placed in a high hearse canopied in black and

8. Busey, Pictures of Washington, pp. 283-86. Holman Hamilton, Zachary Taylor, Soldier in the White House (New York, 1951), pp. 396-98.

drawn by six gray horses. Government officials, military units, and societies formed a cortege numbering 30,000 people. To the slow beat of the funeral dirge they moved solemnly along black-draped Pennsylvania Avenue. Appropriately, both front and rear of the column represented the race Lincoln had so recently advanced toward freedom from servile bondage: arriving late and unable to take its assigned position, the 22d Colored Infantry fell in at the head of the procession, while marchers from Negro lodge groups brought up the rear. The body lay in state in the Capitol for two days before being consigned to the funeral train that bore it, amid scenes of mourning at each station, to the final burial place at Springfield, Illinois.⁹

The second President to fall by assassination was James A. Garfield, shot by a disappointed office-seeker in Washington on July 2, 1881. The President lingered until September 19, when he died in a borrowed summer cottage at Elberon, New Jersey. The train bearing the body reached the Baltimore and Potomac station at 6th and B Streets, where the National Gallery of Art now stands, late on the afternoon of the 21st. Here ten weeks earlier the assassination had occurred.

A hearse drawn by six white horses, each led by a colored groom, received the casket at the 6th Street entrance. John Philip Sousa's Marine Band played "Nearer, My God to Thee." Mounted police, regular and militia units, G.A.R. veterans, and a double line of carriages

9. Carl Sandburg, Abraham Lincoln: The War Years (New York, 1939), IV, 387-93. Leech, Reveille in Washington, pp. 402-03.

headed by one bearing President Chester A. Arthur and former President Ulysses S. Grant formed a procession that moved up 6th Street and turned east into Pennsylvania Avenue. The Marine Band and 2d U. S. Artillery Band provided solemn music and the beat of muffled drums as the cortege moved up the Avenue to the Capitol. The President's body lay in state in the Rotunda for two days, then was escorted back down Pennsylvania Avenue to the railway station by a procession similar to that of the 21st. A funeral train took the body to Cleveland, Ohio, for burial in Lake View Cemetery.¹⁰

On September 6, 1901, an anarchist shot and killed President William McKinley at Buffalo, New York. At nightfall on September 16, as the train carrying the body rolled into the station at 6th and B, a large crowd assembled and began to sing "Nearer, My God to Thee." A hearse escorted by cavalry moved down Pennsylvania Avenue to the White House. "Block by block the throng took up the singing," reported the Washington Post, and 10,000 voices "drowned the rattle of horses' hoofs and the metallic clanging of the polished sabers." The body lay in state in the East Room of the White House until the next morning, when it was escorted up rain-dampened Pennsylvania Avenue by a varied procession of veterans groups, fraternal and patriotic organizations, and hundreds of citizens. Carriages bearing President Theodore Roosevelt, former President Grover Cleveland, and high government officials preceded the marchers. The Marine Band played "Nearer, My God to Thee" in front

10. Washington Post, Sept. 22-27, 1881.

of the White House, and the 4th Artillery Band from Fortress Monroe furnished the marching music--Chopin's Funeral March. After funeral services in the Capitol Rotunda, the body was escorted to the railway station for movement to McKinley's home town of Canton, Ohio.¹¹

Death came to President Warren G. Harding of cerebral stroke in San Francisco on August 2, 1923. The funeral train arrived at Washington's Union Station at 10:20 p.m. on August 7. Thousands of people lined Pennsylvania Avenue to view the cortege as it passed to the White House. "Slowly the caisson moved through the lines of people," observed a newspaperman, "piercing the dull mist which seemed to settle over the Capital with its sorrow." Next mourning a bugle sounded, drums rolled, and cannon boomed from the Fort Myer heights across the river. General John J. Pershing and a cavalry escort preceded the caisson and casket down Pennsylvania Avenue to the Capitol. For the first time in a Presidential funeral, automobiles carried the mourners, including Mrs. Harding, and bands and marching contingents representing all the armed services followed. After funeral services in the Capitol Rotunda, Harding's remains lay in state the rest of the day, then were taken to Union Station for movement to Marion, Ohio.¹²

No state funeral, not even that for Abraham Lincoln, expressed a more profound national grief than the obsequies that marked the Nation's

11. Ibid., Sept. 14-18, 1901.

12. Ibid., Aug. 3-11, 1923.

farewell to John F. Kennedy, slain by an assassin's bullet in Dallas on November 22, 1963. In many subtle ways the ceremonies expressed the sense of history which this President had brought to the White House, and they recalled touches of similar sorrowful funerals of the past. The artillery caisson was the same that had borne Franklin D. Roosevelt 18 years earlier. For a day and a night the body lay in state beneath a Capitol dome completed almost exactly a century earlier; Abraham Lincoln had insisted that Civil War not delay work on so meaningful a symbol of enduring Union. And dwarfed by the towering dome, the flag-draped casket, at Mrs. Kennedy's behest, appropriately rested on Lincoln's catafalque. A further parallel with the martyred Civil War President was noted in an 1865 newspaper account that exactly described the scene on Pennsylvania Avenue on November 24, 1963: "The procession which escorted the body from the White House to the Capitol was one of the most imposing ever seen in Washington The avenue was cleared the whole length The sound of muffled drums was heard, and the procession, with a slow and measured tread, moved from the home of mourning on its mission with the remains of the illustrious dead. Despite the enormous crowd the silence was profound."

Muffled drums, the Marine Band's rendition of "Hail to the Chief" and "Eternal Father, Strong to Save," the clatter of caisson wheels on pavement, the restless black horse with saddle and reversed boots, and the pageantry of dress uniforms and massed banners summed up a somber, unwelcome, but nonetheless established institution of the Presidency

that took root 122 years earlier when a President first journeyed in death down Pennsylvania Avenue to the mournful strains of the funeral dirge.¹³

Funeral processions on Pennsylvania Avenue have not of course been limited to Presidents. Other national figures so honored include Vice President George Clinton (1812), Generals Jacob Brown (1828), Alexander Macomb (1841), and Philip H. Sheridan (1888), Admiral George Dewey (1917), the venerable statesmen John Quincy Adams (1848) and Henry Clay (1852), Chief Justices Salmon P. Chase (1873) and William Howard Taft (1930), and Ambassador Adlai Stevenson (1965).

A notable procession mourned the victims of the Princeton disaster of 1844. A large official party had sailed down the Potomac on the U.S.S. Princeton to witness the test firing of a new 12-inch naval gun known as the Peacemaker. The gun exploded and killed five high officials, including Secretary of State Abel P. Upshur and Secretary of the Navy Thomas W. Gilmer. On March 2, to the slow strains of the funeral dirge, President Tyler, the Cabinet, and other leading government functionaries escorted four hearses up Pennsylvania Avenue to the Congressional Cemetery. The silent crowds lining the Avenue and the black mourning cloth draping the buildings reminded one observer of President Harrison's funeral three years earlier.¹⁴

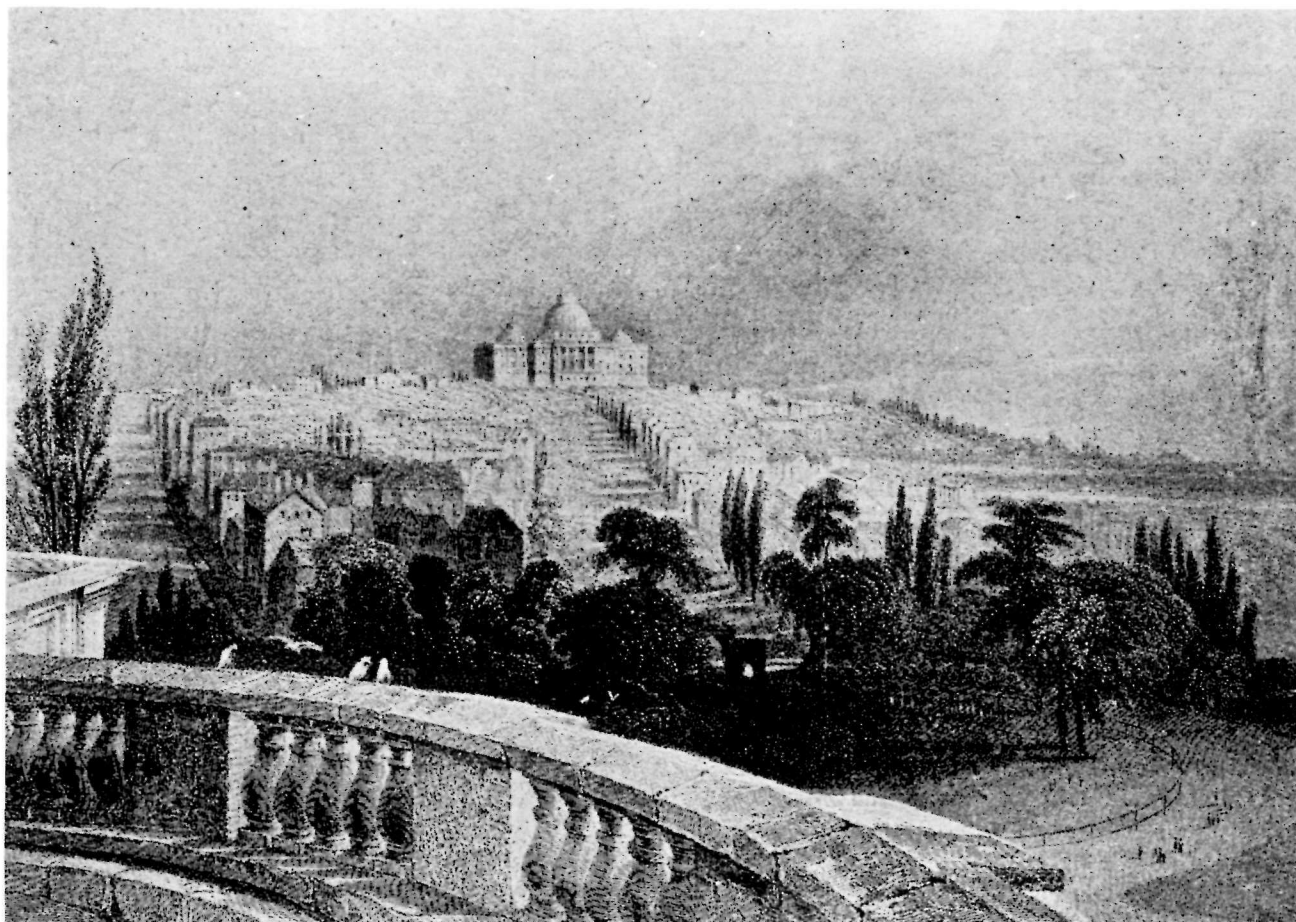
13. American Heritage and United Press International, Four Days: The Historical Record of the Death of President Kennedy (New York, 1964).

14. Busey, Pictures of the City of Washington, pp. 277-80. National Intelligencer, Feb. 29, March 2, March 4, 1844.

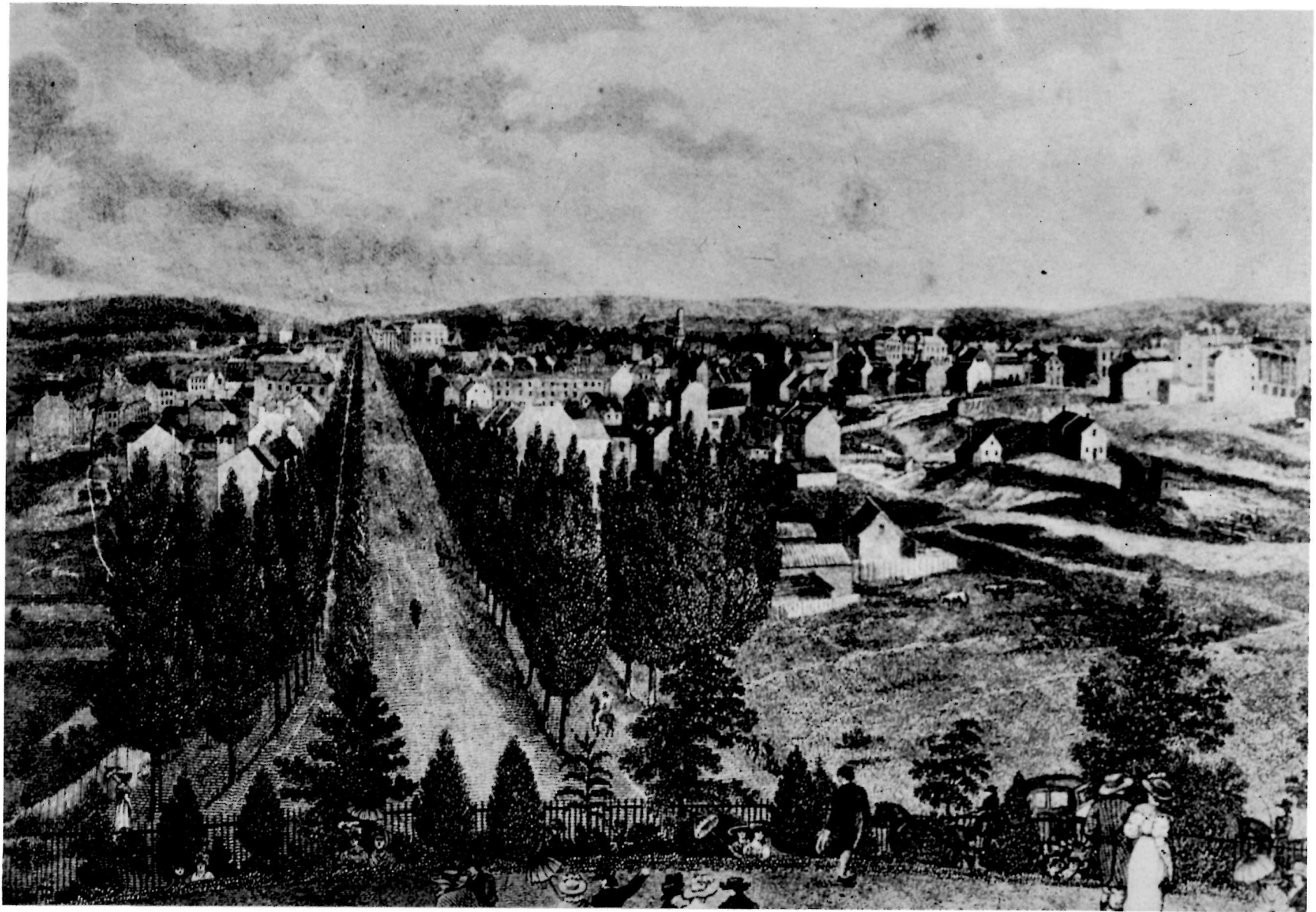
Another memorable procession made its way down the Avenue on November 11, 1921. The Unknown Soldier--brought from a burial ground in France to represent all Americans slain in World War I--arrived at the Washington Navy Yard aboard the historic battleship Olympia on November 9. The body lay in state in the Capitol Rotunda for two days, then on Armistice Day was escorted down Pennsylvania Avenue and across the Potomac to the final resting place in Arlington National Cemetery. President Harding, General Pershing, and Chief Justice Taft marched in solemn step behind the caisson bearing the casket. The ailing former President Woodrow Wilson rode in a carriage, and the entire U. S. Senate and House of Representatives followed. At 11:15 A.M., after a silent tribute to the Nation's dead and a brief address by the President, the Unknown Soldier was interred in the tomb that has since become so full of meaning for the American people.¹⁵

For a time after completion of the Federal Triangle buildings, their facades turned south, away from Pennsylvania Avenue, Constitution Avenue began to share in the ceremonial role. Thus the funeral processions of such notables as President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Generals John J. Pershing and Douglas MacArthur, and former President Herbert Hoover passed along Constitution Avenue. President Kennedy, however, created a new public awareness of the historic claim of Pennsylvania Avenue to this role, and it promises to reassert its traditional dominance as the Nation's ceremonial way.

15. Washington Post, Nov. 11-13, 1921.



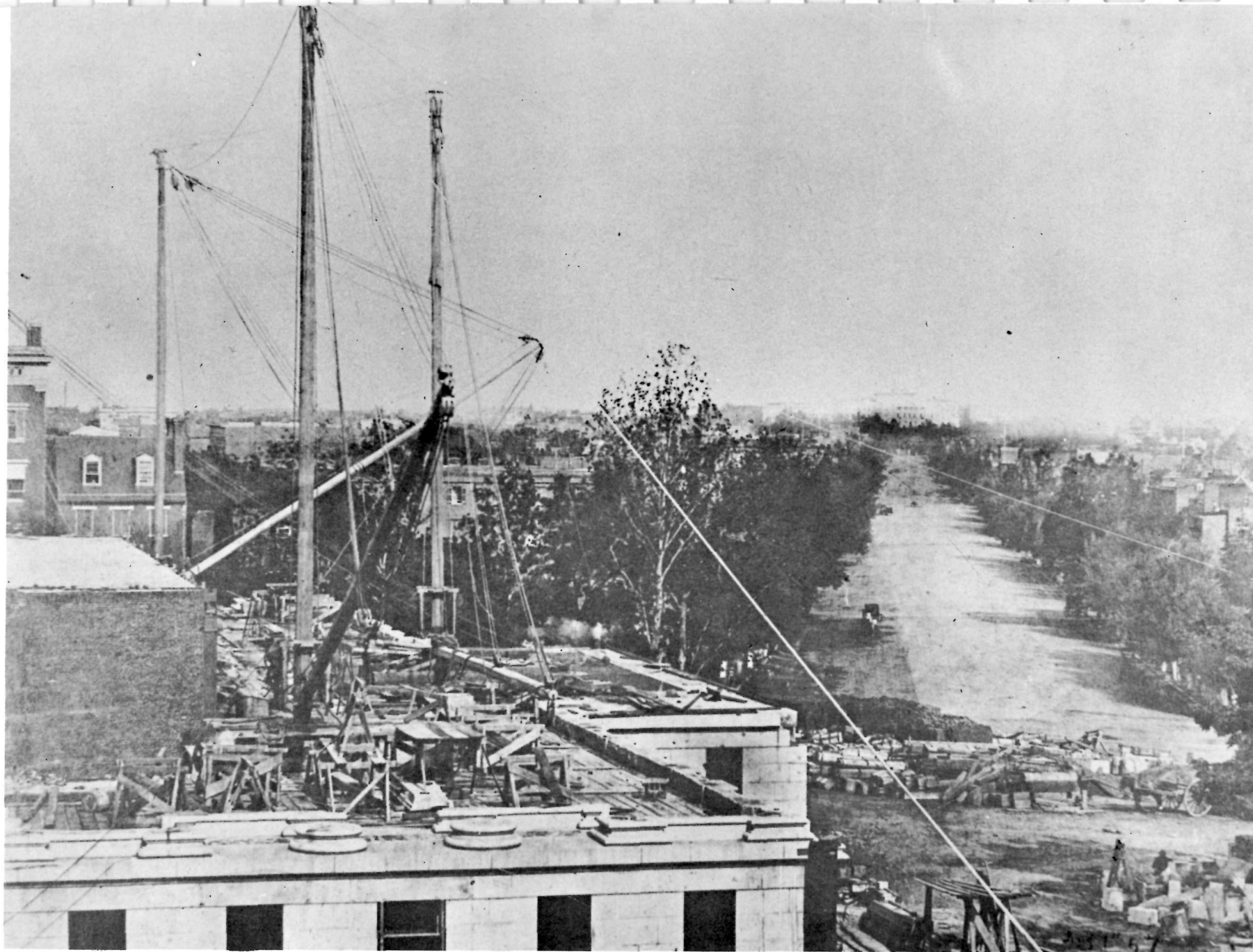
Looking up Pennsylvania Avenue toward the Capitol from the south portico of the White House about 1830.



Pennsylvania Avenue from Capitol Hill about 1834. Note poplar trees planted by Thomas Jefferson to enhance the appearance of the thoroughfare.



This 1843 daguerreotype by Matthew Brady, taken from Capitol Hill, is the earliest known photograph of Pennsylvania Avenue. Unfinished Treasury Building hides White House. In foreground on both sides of the Avenue are boarding houses and hotels. Library of Congress.



In this view of Pennsylvania Avenue on the eve of the Civil War the uncompleted Treasury Building looms in the foreground while the domeless Capitol may be seen dimly in the background. National Archives.



Pennsylvania Avenue in 1893, looking east from the Capitol. Heavy tower at left is the Baltimore and Potomac railway terminal, partially obscuring Center Market beyond. At upper right is the Old City Hall, below, and slightly to the right of the Patent Office.



Pennsylvania Avenue at the turn of the century. The new Willard's Hotel, left, and the new Post Office Building, right, had recently been completed.



This view from the top of Willard's new hotel about 1905 reveals a growing billboard problem on Pennsylvania Avenue. Pennsylvania Avenue Commission.

Other Ceremonial Functions

Reception of visiting foreign dignitaries on Pennsylvania Avenue has become traditional. In modern times many of the world's heads of state have been honored by a motorcade down the crowd-lined Avenue. The tradition dates back at least to 1824, when the aged Marquis de Lafayette toured the young Republic he had helped to liberate half a century earlier. Amid scenes of enthusiasm and nostalgia, he received the adulation of the Nation. A grateful Congress voted him \$200,000-- "in recognition of his services to the country and his personal financial losses in the cause of liberty in two worlds." A huge military and civilian contingent met Lafayette at the District line on October 12, 1824, and conducted him to the Capitol for oratorical tributes. Then the escort accompanied him down Pennsylvania Avenue. It was lined with cheering and waving spectators, "but the most pleasing sight," said the National Intelligencer, "was the windows on each side of it filled with ladies, in their best attire and looks, bestowing, with beaming eyes, their benediction on the beloved Chief, and waving white handkerchiefs, as tokens of their happiness." The parade ended at the Franklin House on 21st Street, where a banquet was held that night in honor of the old hero.¹⁶

The tradition of acclaiming national heroes on Pennsylvania Avenue seems not to have originated until the grand review of the Union Army

16. W.E. Woodward, Lafayette (New York, 1938), pp. 426-33. David Loth, The People's General (New York, 1951), pp. 302-03. National Intelligencer, Oct. 14, 1824. Busey, Pictures of the City of Washington, pp. 288-89.

in 1865, when cheering thousands joined the President, Congress, and the Supreme Court in honoring the war-worn soldiers and their generals. This was a victory celebration as well, the only formally organized pageantry to signal the end of a war. None appears to have been staged after the Mexican War, and the demonstrations marking victory over Spain in 1898, Germany in 1918 and 1945, and Japan in 1945 were spontaneous outbreaks that jammed Pennsylvania Avenue with multitudes of exuberant citizens.

The boom of a signal gun on the bright morning of May 23, 1865, launched a two-day celebration that for sustained spectacle has never been surpassed in the long history of Pennsylvania Avenue. President Johnson, the Cabinet, and General Grant occupied a reviewing stand in front of the White House, while across the street, masking the statue of Jackson with its carved inscription calling for preservation of the Union, a facing stand bore senators, congressmen, and Supreme Court justices. A crush of spectators lined the Avenue and jammed the windows and rooftops of the flag-draped buildings.

General George G. Meade, victor of Gettysburg, led the Army of the Potomac, its cavalry in the van. Sheridan had been called to duty in Texas, but the yellow-haired Custer created a sensation when a thrown garland of flowers stampeded his horse and sent it galloping wildly past the reviewing stand. In well-tailored, well-aligned ranks, Meade's army paraded down the Avenue as the regimental bands sounded the patriotic airs of the war and cheering onlookers carpeted the way with a blizzard

of flowers. One after another the veteran Cavalry Corps and the IX, V, and II Infantry Corps, punctuated by massed batteries of horse artillery and lumbering engineer trains, swung smartly from the Avenue into 15th Street, then turned to pass in review in front of the bunting-covered stands. Not until late afternoon did the last regiment of the II Corps bring up the rear of the historic parade.

Next day the signal gun sounded again, this time for the western army to receive the enthusiastic welcome of the capital. To the spectators these soldiers and their generals, their insignia, flags, and marching music were all unfamiliar. Their loose uniforms, unkempt appearance, and striding gait drew a contrast to the military snap that was McClellan's legacy to the Army of the Potomac. The bands blared "Marching through Georgia," the gaunt, red-bearded William Tecumseh Sherman rode in front of his legions, and the crowd accorded a rising ovation to the westerners who had seized Atlanta and marched to the sea. Even the "Bummer Brigade," Sherman's foragers who had spread terror through Georgia, paraded in a proud disarray of wagons, animals, fowl, and jubilant "contraband" Negroes. That night, after the last of the army had passed the White House, the westerners rocked the capital with alcoholic revelry and brawled with the eastern troops in the Pennsylvania Avenue saloons.¹⁷

17. Leech, Reveille in Washington, pp. 414-19.

Although no grand review has celebrated victory in subsequent wars, the reception of military heroes partook of this character and also strengthened the tradition of expressing national appreciation for individual achievements. Thus was Admiral George Dewey, victor of the Battle of Manila Bay, received in a parade along the Avenue on October 4, 1899. Thus was General John J. Pershing, leader of the American Expeditionary Force in World War I, welcomed home from France on September 15, 1919. And so General Dwight D. Eisenhower was honored on his return from Europe in 1945. Others acclaimed in this manner include Charles A. Lindberg, first aviator to fly the Atlantic nonstop, in 1927; and John Glenn, first astronaut to penetrate outer space, in 1962.

The Avenue has also been used as a national platform on which minority groups dramatize a protest or a cause. Sometimes through such demonstrations the viewpoint of a minority becomes that of the majority, and a change comes about in the social, economic, or political fabric of the Nation. More often, the minority viewpoint remains just that, and the demonstration is forgotten. For better or worse, such spectacles as the Suffragist parade of 1913, the Ku Klux Klan parade of 1925, and the civil rights and pacifist activities of the 1960s often represented more significant currents of history than the officially sanctioned ceremonies of celebration and mourning.

A memorable dramatization march was that of Coxey's Army on May 1, 1894. Left idle by the Panic of 1893, workingmen all over the country

organized "armies" to express their discontent over the failure of government to lift the economy from its depression. Most famous was Jacob S. Coxey's "Commonwealth of Christ" army of Massillon, Ohio. Led by "General" Coxey, riding in a carriage with his wife and son (Legal Tender Coxey), the army of about 100 marched on Washington in the spring of 1894. Reinforced by other armies of unemployed, Coxey's Army numbered about 500 when it reached the capital. Thousands of spectators watched the protesting workers march up Pennsylvania Avenue to the rhythm of bass drums, cymbals, and bagpipes. At the foot of Capitol Hill, the "living petition" to Congress came to a halt as a phalanx of hundreds of police blocked the way. The protest ended ingloriously as the "General" and his staff, attempting to reach the Capitol steps, were arrested for walking on the grass.¹⁸

Far more representative of deep national unrest was the Bonus March of 1932. At the depth of the depression, some 60,000 to 80,000 men, principally unemployed World War I veterans, descended on Washington to pressure Congress into enacting legislation that would give veterans increased borrowing privileges on their bonus certificates. The men of the "Bonus Expeditionary Force" staged no formal march: they simply engulfed Pennsylvania Avenue, many camping in vacant buildings at the tip of the Federal Triangle. On July 15 the House passed the Patman Bonus Bill, but the Senate rejected it. Congress provided funds

18. Donald L. McMurtry, Coxey's Army: A Study of the Industrial Army Movement of 1894 (Boston, 1929).

to help veterans return home, and many left; but others remained to be flushed out by the only formal march to occur on the Avenue during the whole unhappy episode. On July 28 cavalry and tanks moved up the Avenue, led by Army Chief of Staff Douglas MacArthur, resplendent in bemedalled uniform and polished boots and mounted on a finely groomed horse. His aide, Maj. Dwight D. Eisenhower, directed the tanks. The stubborn veterans sat down, but tear gas scattered them from the streets and buildings. The troops continued to Anacostia Flats and burned out the sprawling camp that had sprung up there.¹⁹

In its ceremonial role, Pennsylvania Avenue has highlighted a century and a half of American history. An enduring and constantly enlarging symbolism dramatically endows the Nation's ceremonial way with national historical significance. Yet not alone on symbolism does the distinction rest. Association with people and events of large consequence in the unfolding history of the Republic and its capital also clothes Pennsylvania Avenue and its related environs with a significance quite independent of formal pageantry.

19. John D. Hicks, The American Nation (Cambridge, 1955), pp. 554-55. Green, Washington, II, 374.

Part II

PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE DISTRICT: MEN AND EVENTS

The Nation's great men and women trod the ceremonial way not only in the pageantry of victory and defeat, but also in daily activities reflecting and shaping national life. Along Pennsylvania Avenue and its adjacent streets stood hotels, boarding houses, and restaurants where statesmen lodged, dined, debated the issues of the day, and perfected courses of action that guided the Nation's destiny. In the theaters and places of amusement of this district they sought release from the cares of office. In its markets and shops they bought the necessities of life. In its hostelries they gathered for entertainments and celebrations highlighted by the quadrennial Presidential inaugural balls. And here two Presidents were struck down by the assassin's bullet. Thus the Pennsylvania Avenue district has not only mirrored in its ceremonials the shifting currents of American history; it has also formed the scene for an interplay of people and events that often materially influenced the course of American history.

Where Great Men Lodged

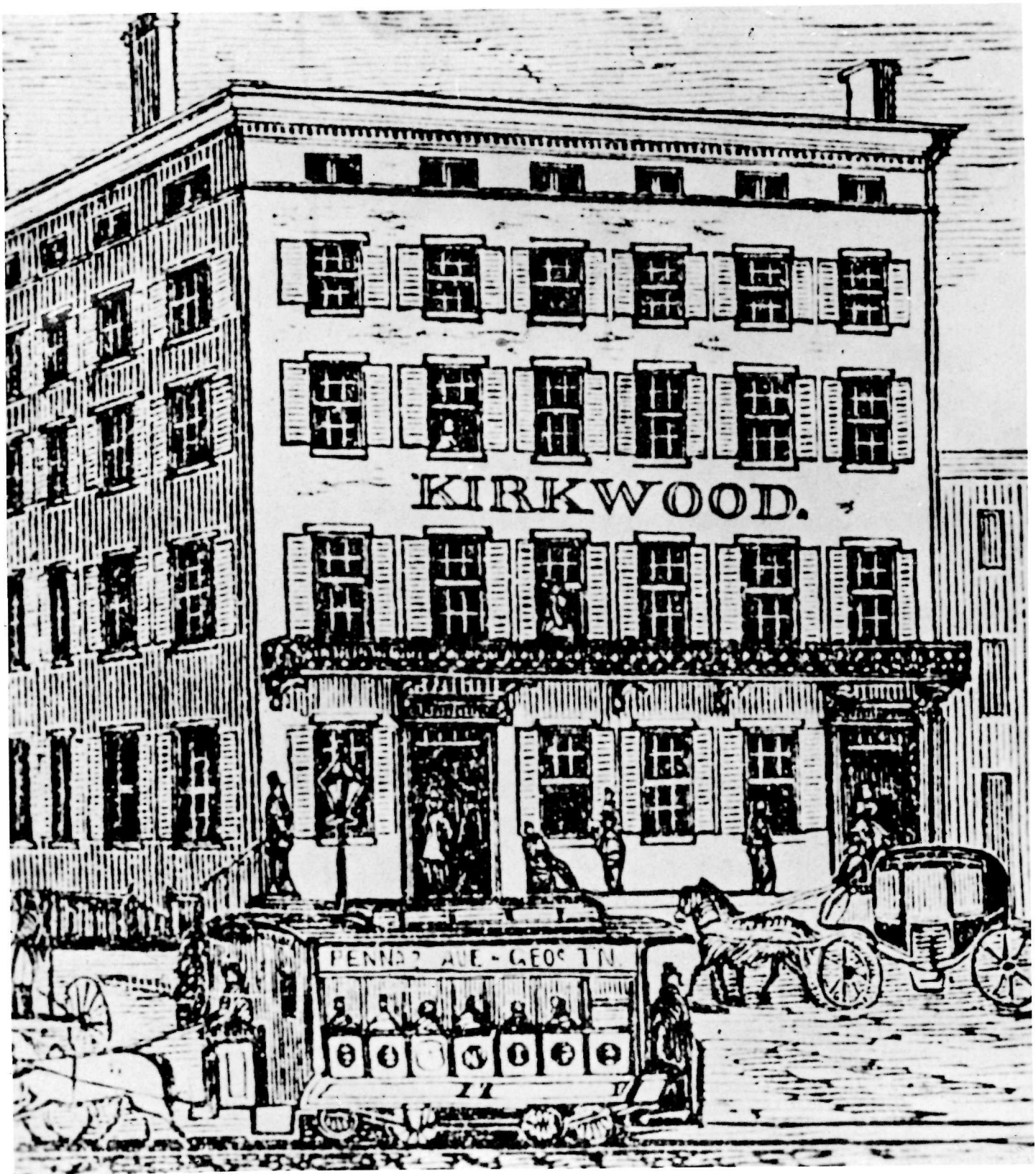
In the early decades of the Nation, few public figures established a residence in the capital city. Offering a minimum of municipal conveniences and social attractions, it was a place to which national leaders came to transact the public business as expeditiously as possible before



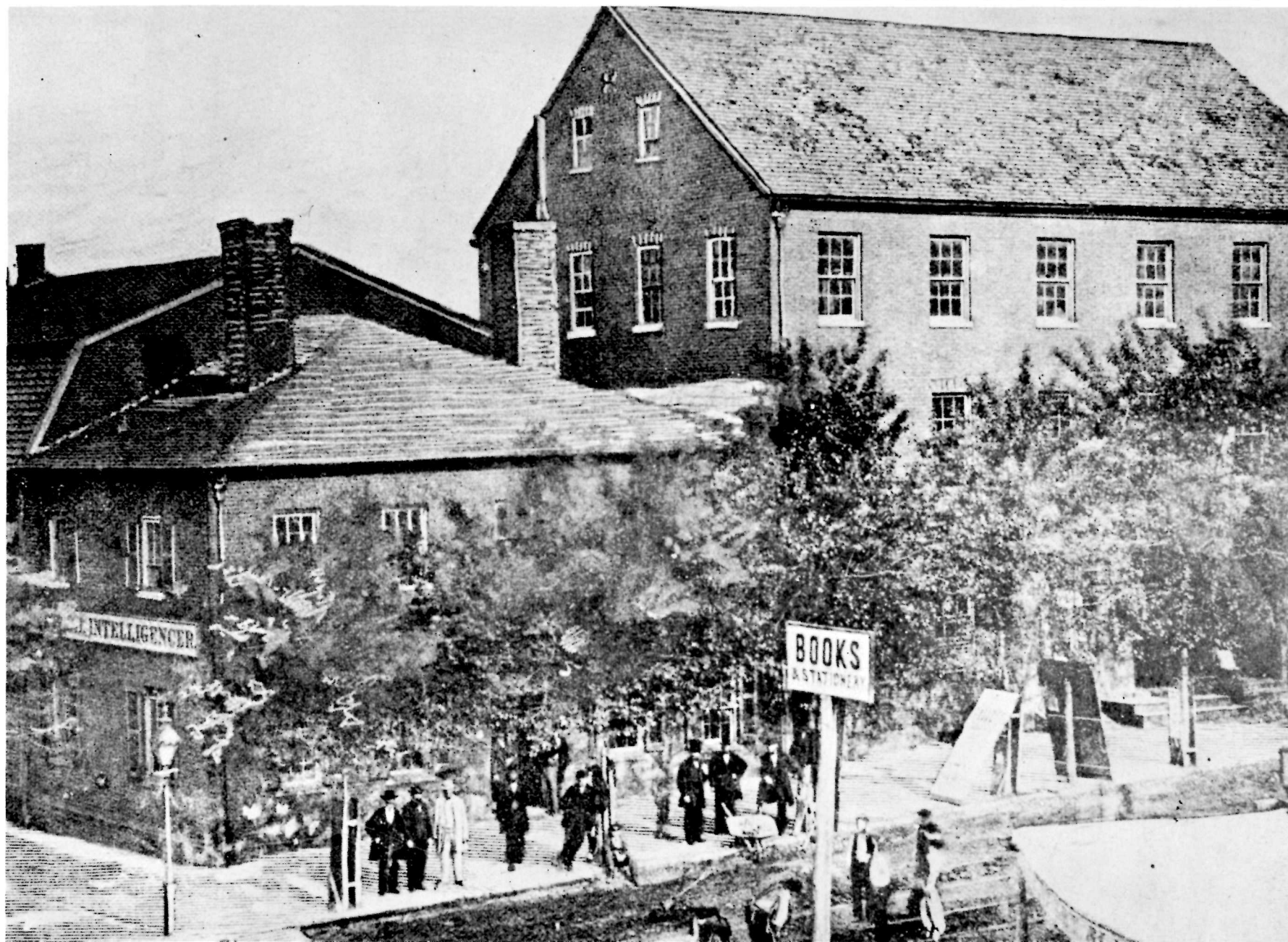
The Indian Queen Hotel on the north side of Pennsylvania Avenue between 6th and 7th was one of Washington's most popular hostelries in the early 19th century, famed alike for its outstanding cuisine and distinguished clientele. This lithograph shows it about 1832. Library of Congress.



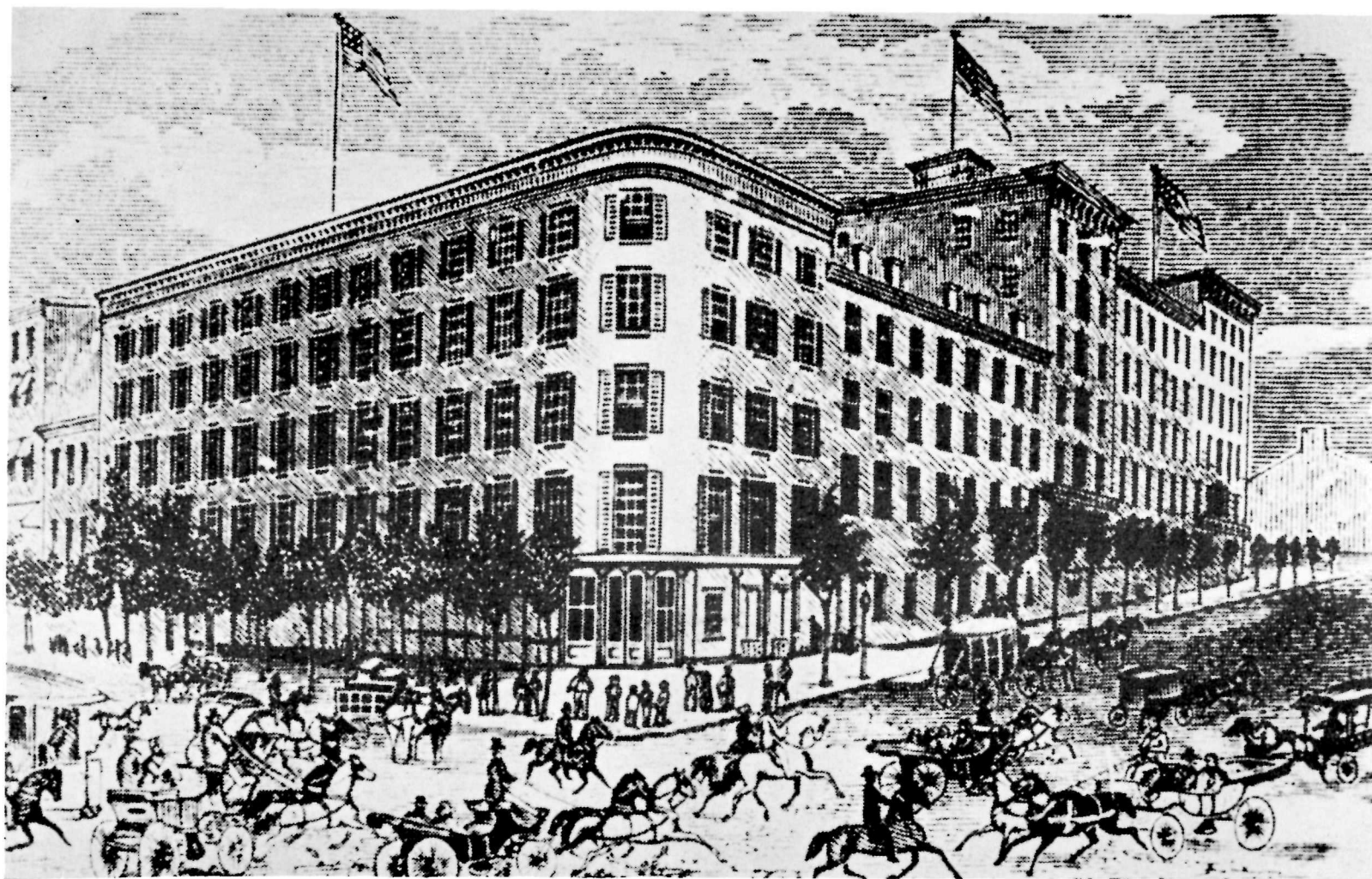
Top congressional and executive leaders made their Washington home at the National Hotel at 6th and Pennsylvania throughout much of the 19th century. This view is about 1850.



At the Kirkwood House at 11th and Pennsylvania Andrew Johnson was sworn in as President following the assassination of Abraham Lincoln.



Office of the National Intelligencer at 7th and D Streets. This influential newspaper served successively as party organ for Jeffersonian Republicans, National Republicans, Whigs, and Democrats before its demise in 1869. This picture was probably made in the 1860s. National Archives.



Willard's of Washington has played host to national and world figures for a century and a half. Housing Fuller's City Hotel until the Willard brothers bought it in 1850, this structure at 14th and Pennsylvania was replaced in 1900-01 by the "New Willard's," which still stands.



The Ebbitt House, on the southeast corner of 14th and F, was a distinguished capital hostelry in the last half of the 19th century. Library of Congress.



ST. JAMES HOTEL



METROPOLITAN HOTEL, PENNSYLVANIA AVE.



BALTIMORE & POTOMAC R.R. DEPOT

WHERE GARFIELD WAS ASSASSINATED



THE EBBITT HOUSE



THE ARLINGTON.



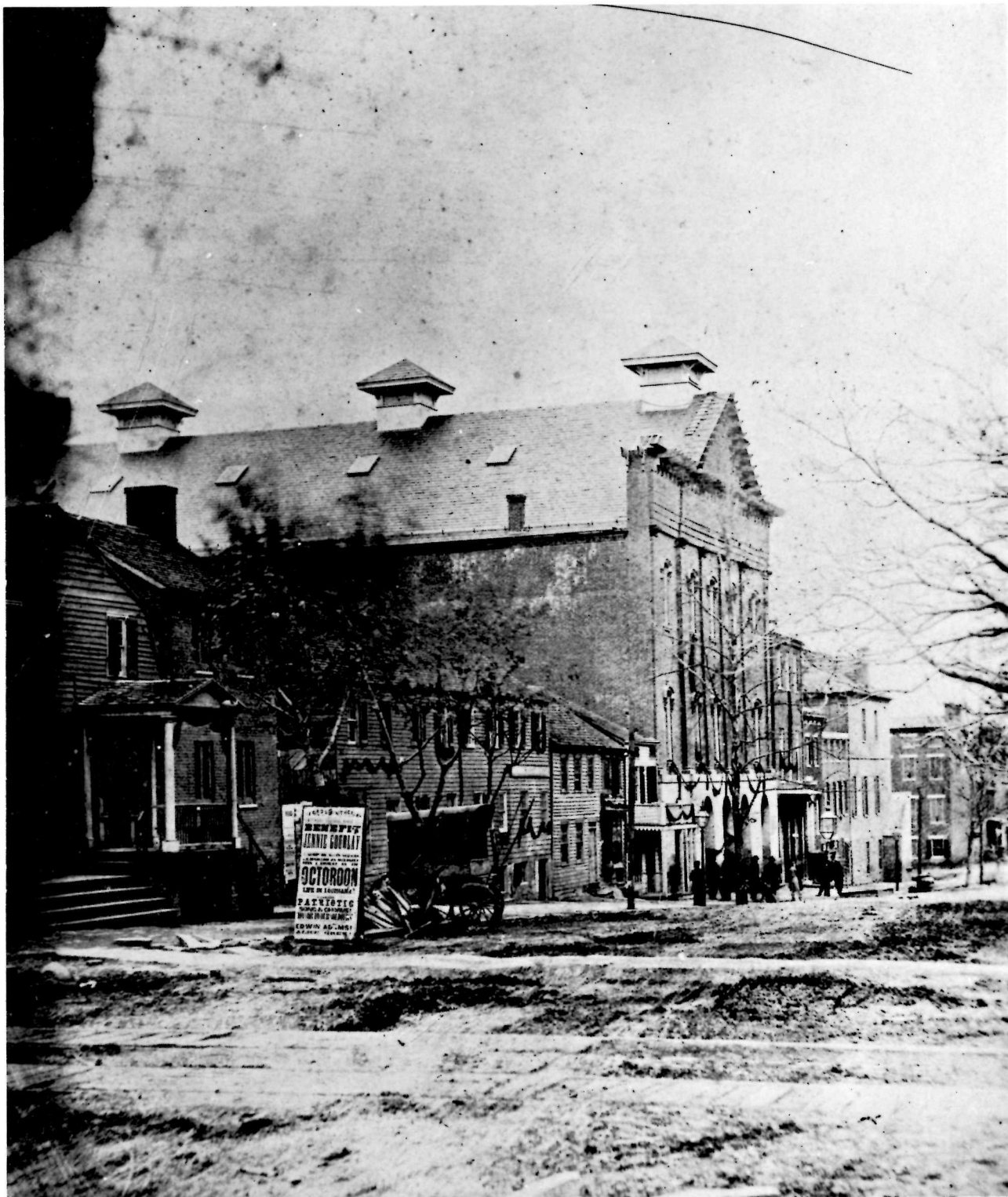
RIGGS HOUSE, 15TH & G STREETS



NATIONAL HOTEL, PENN. AVE. & 6TH ST



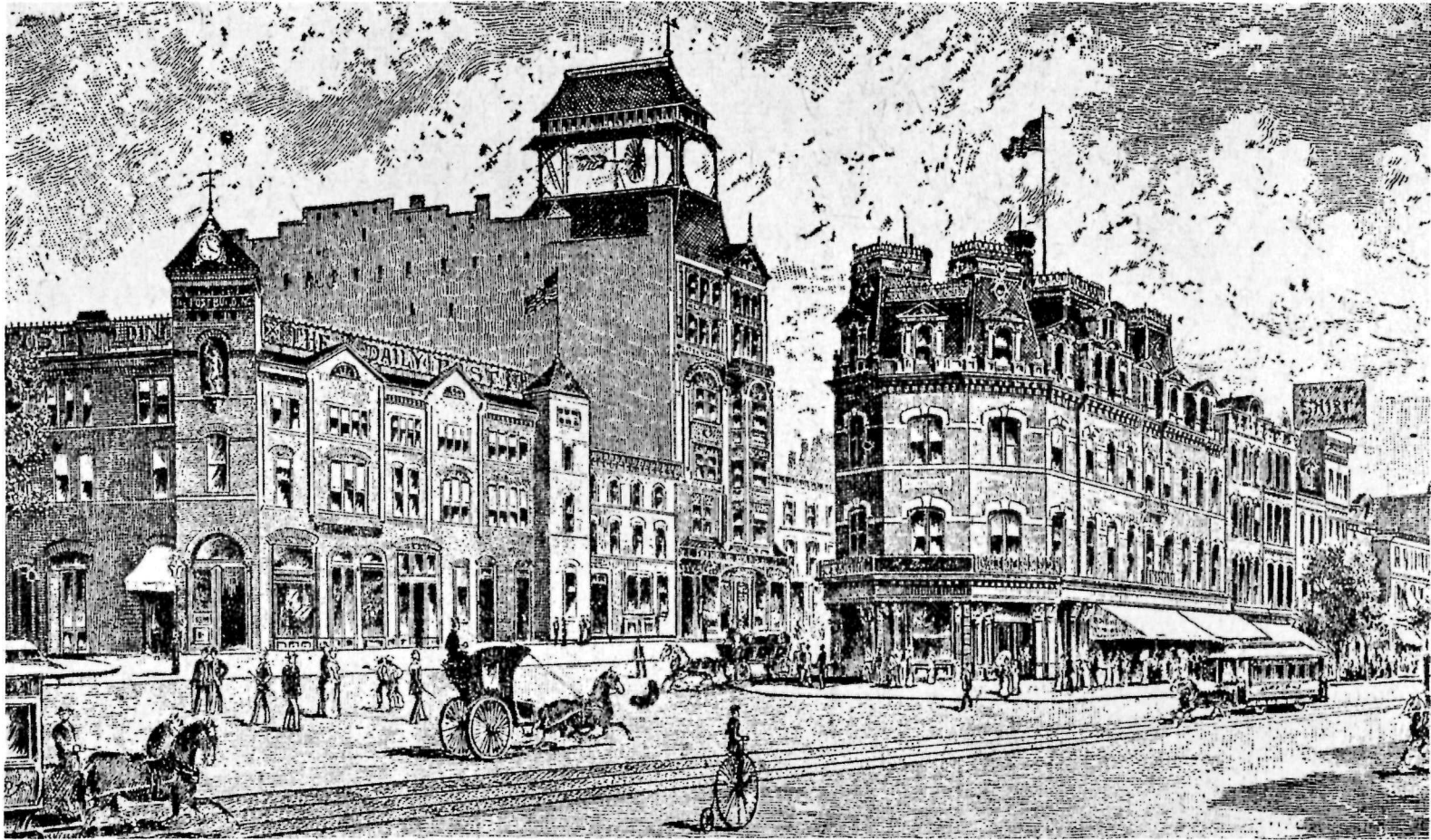
WILLARD'S HOTEL.



Ford's Theater on 10th Street between E and F, scene of the assassination of Abraham Lincoln, 1865.



Southwest corner of 11th and Pennsylvania Avenue in 1888, showing Thomas Dowling, auctioneers, and the Globe Theater. National Archives.



Looking north across the Avenue at 10th Street in the 1890s. Note Washington Post building at left. Pennsylvania Avenue Commission.



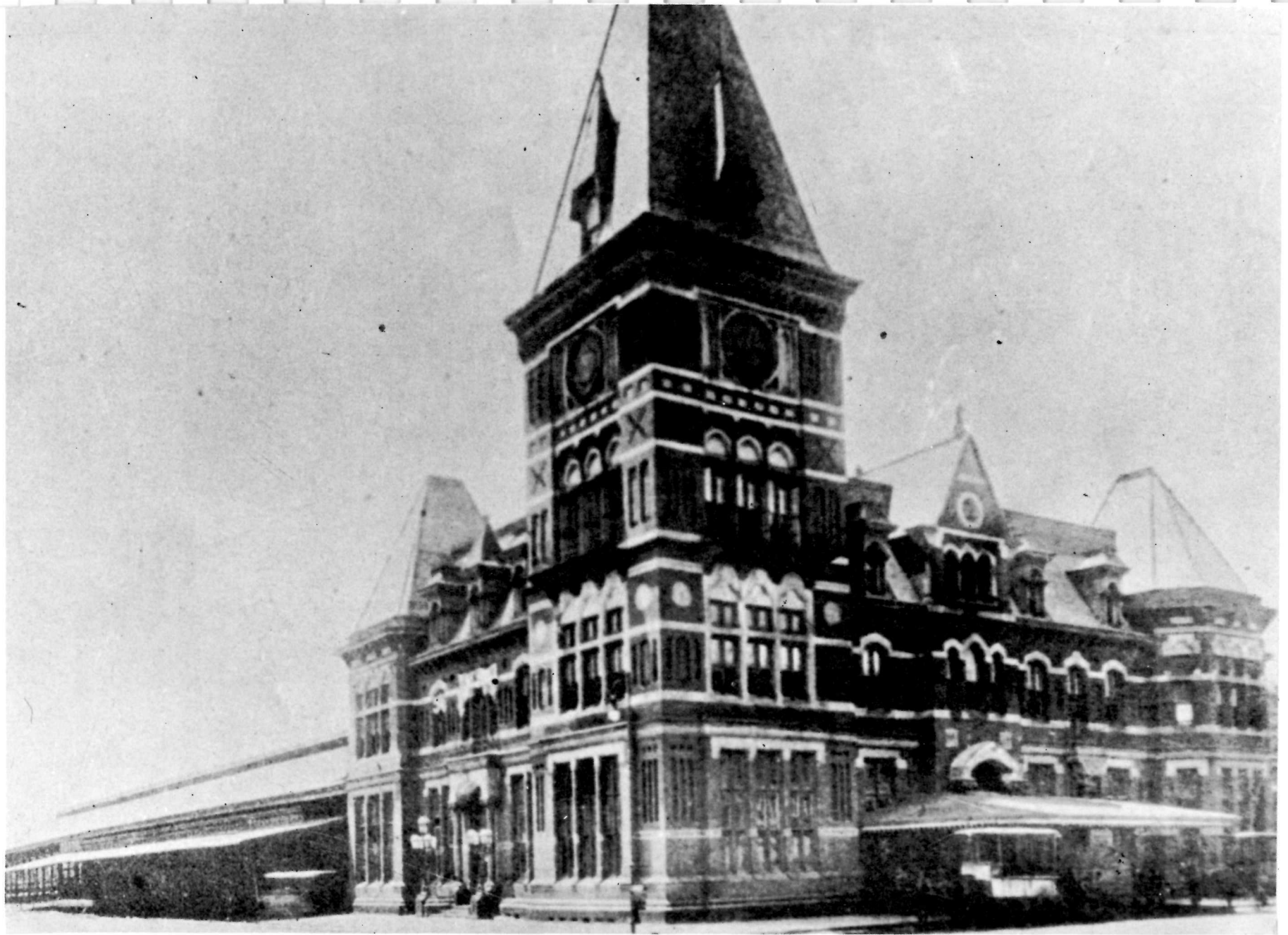
At the close of the 19th century, the north side of Pennsylvania Avenue in the 1100 block contained such established Washington institutions as the Evening Star, Galt's Jewelry, and the Raleigh Hotel. Ceremonial hangings are probably for McKinley's first inaugural, in March 1897. Pennsylvania Avenue Commission.



Statesmen, celebrities, clerks, and tradesmen did their marketing at Center Market at Pennsylvania and B Street from 1801 until the area was cleared to make way for the National Archives building. This view in 1865 shows burned-out Smithsonian tower in background. Library of Congress.



Center Market as viewed from 9th and C Streets in 1920. These brick structures were built in 1872, after fire had swept the area two years earlier. National Archives.



The Baltimore and Potomac railway depot stood at 6th and B Streets from 1873 to 1909. Here President James A. Garfield was assassinated in 1881.

returning to the amenities of better developed communities. Thus not until after the Civil War, when the capital began to take on an air of permanence and dignity, did the boarding houses and hotels between the White House and the Capitol surrender their preeminence as lodging places for the men who ran the government. And even then many legislators and some executive officials continued to prefer the services of the hotels to the responsibilities of a private residence.

At first the boarding houses proved most popular. Catering principally to congressmen and offering convenient access to the legislative halls, they clustered along Pennsylvania Avenue near the foot of Capitol Hill. As late as 1865 there were still at least 16 such establishments fronting the Avenue between 1st and 7th Streets. One of outstanding merit, conducted from 1834 to 1855 by Mrs. Elizabeth Peyton, stood at 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ Street (now John Marshall Place) and numbered among its patrons Chief Justice John Marshall, Justice Joseph Story, and Senators Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, Robert Y. Hayne, and Henry A. Wise.²⁰ At the other end of the Avenue, on the southeast corner of the intersection with 15th Street, stood Mrs. Suter's Boarding House, remembered chiefly as the place where British Admiral George Cockburn lodged in August 1814 while his redcoats burned the public buildings of the capital.²¹ On H Street between 6th and 7th during the Civil War Mrs. Mary Surratt kept

20. WPA, Washington, City and Capital (Washington, 1937), pp. 632-33. Washington Sunday Star, Oct. 21, 1934.

21. WPA, Washington, p. 637.

a boarding house destined for infamy as the place where the conspirators in the assassination of Abraham Lincoln plotted their successful strategy.²²

Soon the hotels began to overshadow the boarding houses. As gathering places for Washington officialdom, as centers for social intercourse, and as places for meeting to guide the destinies of the Republic, the hotels in the middle decades of the 19th century took second place only to the White House and the Capitol. Of such famous hostelries as the National, the United States, the Indian Queen, the St. Charles, the Globe, Willard's, the Ebbitt, and the Kirkwood House, only the Willard still recalls the prominent role the Pennsylvania Avenue hotels played in the history of the capital and the Nation.

One of the foremost 19th-century hotels was the National, or Gadsby's, on the northeast corner of 6th and Pennsylvania. Established in 1826 by John Gadsby, proprietor of the Franklin House and several other hotels in Washington, it hosted Andrew Jackson before his inauguration in 1829. The throng of office-seekers, political strategists, and well-wishers who crowded the hotel during this time moved scandalized patricians of the old order to label Gadsby's place "The Wigwam." President-elect William Henry Harrison also lodged at the National in February 1841, and like Jackson he was deluged with office-seekers who brought on such a state of exhaustion that he fell prey to an illness that took his life within a month after entering the White House. At

22. Sandburg, Lincoln, IV, 322-23.

the National Harrison met with the outgoing President Martin Van Buren and his Cabinet to arrange the transition from one administration to the next, and here, too, he formed his own Cabinet.

Others of prominence who stayed at the National included James Buchanan, Alexander H. Stephens, Horace Mann, and Thaddeus Stevens. Henry Clay died in Room 32, and John Wilkes Booth occupied a room during the winter of 1864-65, prior to his assassination of Abraham Lincoln. During his triumphal visit to Washington in 1852, the exiled Hungarian patriot Louis Kossuth called on Senator Clay at the National and urged U.S. intervention in behalf of the struggling revolutionary groups of monarchical Europe. Clay expressed sympathy, as had most national leaders, but declined to support U.S. involvement in an overseas adventure.

Boasting "little or no architectural pretension," the National still retained its popularity after many of its contemporaries faded. Its fortunes faltered in 1857, while James Buchanan occupied rooms before his inauguration as President. A large number of patrons fell ill of food poisoning, and some died. Democrats charged Freesoil forces with trying to murder the President-elect because of his identification with proslavery doctrine. Shortly afterward the hotel was remodeled and passed under a new management that restored it to favor. The National continued to enjoy prominence for another generation and remained in business well into the 20th century.

William Gadsby, son of the National's proprietor, opened his own establishment in the 1840s at 3d and Pennsylvania three blocks from the National. First called Gadsby's, it later took the name Washington House. Like the National, the Washington House became a fashionable resort for officialdom in the middle decades of the 19th century. Vice Presidents Hannibal Hamlin and Henry Wilson kept rooms there, and it was a favorite lodging place for Indian delegations come to parley with the "Great White Father."²³

Across 6th Street from the National stood the even more renowned Indian Queen Hotel, a favorite from about 1810 until Civil War times. First known as Davis' Hotel, in 1815 it became McKeown's, and in 1821 the Indian Queen. Occasionally it took the name of its long-time proprietor Jesse Brown. In front a huge swinging sign bore a gaudy likeness of Pocahontas, and inside the desk clerk held forth behind the bar flanked by rows of bells connected to the rooms; bell tongues that vibrated for several minutes after being activated showed from which room the summons came. The Indian Queen owed its notoriety mainly to its excellent cuisine, described with relish by a hungry traveler thus:

The newly-arrived guest was met at the door of the dining room by Mr. Brown, wearing a large white apron, who

23. For the National see: Washington Star, Jan. 1, 1893, Feb. 5, 1933, Sept. 16, 1934. Glyndon G. Van Deusen, The Life of Henry Clay (Boston, 1937), pp. 421-22. Cleaves, Old Tippecanoe, p. 333. James, Life of Andrew Jackson, p. 745. WPA, Washington, p. 632. Lorant, The Presidency, p. 111. Helen Nicolay, Our Capital on the Potomac (New York, 1924), pp. 293-94. Francis E. Leupp and Lester G. Hornby, Walks about Washington (Boston, 1915), p. 192.

escorted him to a seat, and then went to the head of the table, where he carved and helped the principal dish. The excellences of this--fish, or flesh or fowl--he would announce as he would invite those seated at the table to send up their plates for what he knew to be their favorite portions; and he would also invite attention to the dishes on the other parts of the table, which were carved, and helped by the guests who sat nearest them. "I have a delicious quarter of mutton from the valley of Virginia," Mr. Brown would announce in a stentorian tone which could be heard above the clatter of crockery and the din of steel knives and forks. "Let me send you a rare slice, Mr. A." "Colonel B., will you have a bone?" "Mrs. C., send up your plate for a piece of kidney." "Mrs. D., there is a fat and tender mongrel goose at the other end of the table." "Joe, pass around the sweet potatoes." "Colonel E., will you help that chicken pie before you?"

In the decades before the Civil War, the Indian Queen boasted a clientele no less distinguished than the National's. Among its residents were Governor Oliver P. Morton of Indiana, Senators James Chestnut of South Carolina, C. C. Clay of Alabama, and R.M.T. Hunter of Virginia; Speaker of the House P. P. Barbour and President of the Senate W. R. King; Representatives Lucius Q. C. Lamar of Mississippi and James Buchanan of Pennsylvania, and many others of lesser repute. In this hotel President James Madison's second inaugural ball was staged in 1813, and here 21 months later, in December 1814, the "Star Spangled Banner" was first sung in the national capital. Hungarian patriot Louis Kossuth and a retinue of 22 aides lived at the Indian Queen during the winter of 1851-52 while fruitlessly promoting American intervention in European revolutions. And here on April 13, 1830, occurred a notable episode in the Nation's progress toward disunion.

The controversy over the doctrine of nullification--the right of a state to nullify an objectionable Federal law--had reached a peak of intensity. The specific issue was the 1828 "Tariff of Abominations," especially harsh in its effect on South Carolina, but the larger implications for the permanence of the Union were evident to all parties in the dispute. In January 1830, the eloquent Webster-Hayne debate on the Senate floor had drawn the battle lines between nationalists and states-righters, but neither side had yet succeeded in drawing out the views of President Andrew Jackson. None knew whether his states-right philosophy or his love of the Union would guide his course in the mounting crisis.

To probe and hopefully to commit the President, John C. Calhoun and the South Carolinans staged a sumptuous Jefferson Day banquet on April 13 at the Indian Queen Hotel. When the time came for toasts, Jackson threw the South Carolinans into unhappy confusion by proposing, "Our Union: It must be preserved." Calhoun's "The Union, next to our liberty, most dear," was a graceful response but hardly allayed the dismay of the nullification forces. Two years later, when South Carolina actually passed an ordinance of nullification, Jackson acted in the spirit of the toast and met the threat firmly. His memorable words, symbolizing a new stage in the sectional conflict as well as a new and significant alignment of national political groupings, were

carved on the base of the Jackson statue when it was placed in Lafayette Square opposite the White House in 1853.²⁴

In the next portentous stage of the "irrepressible conflict," the Pennsylvania Avenue hotels furnished the setting for events perhaps more decisive than those in the legislative halls. The Mexican War had transformed the United States into a continental nation, but it had also raised the divisive issue of slavery in the territories. The Wilmot Proviso, designed to bar slavery from the Mexican Cession, inflamed the issue and brought on a crisis more perilous even than that over nullification two decades earlier.

Alarmed at the rent in the Federal fabric, Senator Henry Clay, now aging and ill, made one final effort to find a solution acceptable to both slavery and freesoil factions. The result was a series of proposals that came to be known collectively as the Compromise of 1850. To win influential support, the "Great Compromiser" visited Daniel Webster at his home and law office on Louisiana (now Indiana) Avenue between 4th and 5th, on the evening of January 21, 1850. Impressed

24. For the Jefferson Day Banquet, see James, Life of Andrew Jackson, pp. 538-40; and Homer C. Hockett, Political and Social Growth of the American People, 1492-1865 (New York, 1940), pp. 550-54. For the Indian Queen, see Washington Star, Jan. 1, 1893, June 9, 1946; Inaugural Committee Official Souvenir Program, 1901; WPA, Washington, p. 633; Busey, Pictures of the City of Washington, pp. 309-10; Washington Directory, 1822; Washington Directory and Congressional and Executive Register for 1850; Washington and Georgetown Directory, 1853; Ibid., 1860. During the confusion after the toast, Sen. Hayne of South Carolina rushed up to Jackson and asked if he would assent to inserting the word "Federal." Jackson rightly saw that the proposed revision would not alter the meaning and agreed. As broadcast to the country, therefore, and as placed on the Jackson Statue, the toast was "Our Federal Union: It Must be Preserved."

with the measures, Webster promised support in principle. Tangible aid came on the Senate floor when the veteran Massachusetts Senator delivered his memorable Seventh-of-March speech in behalf of the Compromise.

On February 10, 1850, Clay and Congressman Thomas H. Bayly arranged a meeting at the National Hotel with Thomas Ritchie, influential editor of the Washington Union and a power in the Democratic Party. In these discussions, the Whig Clay not only enlisted Ritchie's support but perfected a coalition with him to promote the Compromise.

One of the most important aspects of the Compromise was the question of the Texas debt. On the day after the meeting between Clay and Ritchie, James Hamilton and other holders of Texas bonds gathered at the National Hotel to organize a lobby to agitate for Federal assumption of the Texas debt. The activities of the lobby thus formed contributed materially to the strength of the Compromise proponents. In Hamilton's opinion, "no man in or out of Congress . . . contributed more to the adjustment of the Texas question at Washington than myself."

Several weeks after these two meetings a group of seven congressmen met in the rooms of Howell Cobb, Speaker of the House, at Gadsby's hotel at 3d and Pennsylvania to lay out a course of action. They agreed to promote measures in the House similar to those introduced by Clay in the Senate.

The debates on the Compromise generated passions throughout the land and aroused determined opposition from extremists on both sides. The Nation watched suspensefully, for never had the Union come closer

to breaking up. When the measures finally became law on September 7, the spontaneous reaction of Washingtonians expressed the relief felt by Americans everywhere. A hundred-gun salute boomed from the Washington Monument grounds, and that night a brilliant display of fireworks lit the Mall at 7th and B. Afterward, hundreds of citizens "formed in a procession, marched to the National Hotel with the Marine Band, and there played several national airs, and cheered loudly in honor of Mr. Clay." Although the Senator was inappropriately absent, said the reporter, the National was "brilliantly illuminated in honor of the great event, and of the distinguished statesman whose patriotic labors, and those of his noble coadjutors in the counsels of the Nation, had on that day been brought to a happy and glorious consummation." At Mrs. Peyton's boarding house the crowd and the Marine Band saluted Senator Henry Foote, at Gadsby's Speaker Howell Cobb, at the Potomac House Senator Lewis Cass, and last, at their private homes, Senators Stephen A. Douglas and Daniel Webster. Each responded to the cheers with appropriate remarks. The festivities moved one observer to declare that he "never saw, on Pennsylvania Avenue, so much good order and regularity united with so much enthusiasm and patriotic joy."²⁵

25. Hockett, Political and Social Growth of the American People, pp. 654-59. Van Deusen, Life of Henry Clay, p. 402. Allen C. Clark, "More about the Fourth Ward," Records of the Columbia Historical Society, XXXIII-IV (1932), 78-79. Washington Directory and Congressional and Executive Register for 1850, p. 92. Holman Hamilton, Prologue to Conflict: The Crisis and Compromise of 1850 (Lexington, Ky., 1964), pp. 66-67. National Intelligencer, Sept. 9, 1850.

Another favorite stopping place for national personages was the United States Hotel, located on the north side of Pennsylvania Avenue between 3d and 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ Streets. In operation at least as early as the 1840s, it customarily housed several senators and representatives when Congress was in session, among them Andrew Johnson and John C. Calhoun.

In the summer of 1849, while sitting in the lobby of the United States, Senator Jefferson Davis was approached by Cuban patriot chiefs with an offer to lead an army of Cuban exiles in an invasion aimed at liberating the island from Spanish rule. As a military hero of the Mexican War, a respected political leader, and a Presidential intimate, Davis was an admirable choice and could have undertaken the mission with as much hope of success as any man in the country. Although strongly tempted, the future President of the Confederacy, mindful of his obligations as senator from Mississippi, declined the proposition. As a second choice he recommended Maj. Robert E. Lee, who also reluctantly declined.²⁶

One of the earliest Washington hotels was the St. Charles, at 3d and Pennsylvania. Built in 1814, it numbered among its guests Andrew Jackson, John C. Calhoun, Daniel Webster, Martin Van Buren, Andrew Johnson, and a host of visiting Indian chiefs. The Irving Hotel at 12th and Pennsylvania housed numerous senators and congressmen, and President James K. Polk spent his last night in office in one of its

26. WPA, Washington, p. 632. Hudson Strode, Jefferson Davis, American Patriot, 1806-1861 (New York, 1955), pp. 195, 211.

rooms. St. James or Bunkers Hotel on the corner of 6th and Pennsylvania entertained political figures of note for many years, especially in Civil War times. The Prescott House at 13th and E served as a jail for political prisoners during the Civil War. And on Pennsylvania Avenue between 11th and 12th the Kirkwood House, popular for several decades in the middle of the century, was the place where Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase administered the Presidential oath of office to Andrew Johnson on April 15, 1865, after the assassination of Lincoln.²⁷

By all odds the most historic hotel in Washington is the Willard, at 14th and Pennsylvania. The present structure, completed in 1901, replaced another dating from the 1830s. For nearly a century, in a time when government was small and unhurried, the Willard merited the evaluation drawn by Nathaniel Hawthorne, a frequent guest in the 1860s: "it could," he noted, "more justly be called the center of Washington and the nation than either the Capitol or the White House, or the State Department." "At Willard's," he observed, "you exchange nods with Governors of sovereign states. You elbow illustrious men, and tread on the toes of Generals. You hear statesmen and orators speaking in their familiar tones. You mix here with office seekers, wire pullers, inventors, artists, poets, editors, Army correspondents, attaches of foreign journals; long-winded talkers, clerks, diplomats, mail contractors, railway directors--until your identity is lost among them!"

27. WPA, Washington, pp. 631-36. Morrel, Young Hickory, p. 338.

Custom decreed that "you adopt the universal habit and call for a mint julep, a whiskey gin, a gin cocktail, a brandymash, or a glass of pure old rye--at any hour all these drinks are in request."²⁸

In 1850 Henry Willard and his brothers bought the establishment which, under the name of Fuller's City Hotel, had been a noted capital landmark for nearly two decades; among those who resided there were two members of Van Buren's Cabinet, three of Tyler's Cabinet, and in 1846 the veteran Michigan Senator Lewis Cass.²⁹ Zachary Taylor made his headquarters at Fuller's prior to his inauguration in 1849 and there selected his Cabinet.³⁰ His Vice President, Millard Fillmore, was living at Fuller's when it became Willard's;³¹ and from here, upon the death of Zachary Taylor in July 1850, he was escorted to the Capitol to take the Presidential oath. Under the new management, the hotel continued to prosper in the 1850s. Fillmore's successor, Franklin Pierce, checked in at Willard's early in 1853, and on inauguration day Fillmore met Pierce at the hotel and accompanied him to the Capitol for the swearing-in ceremony.³²

28. Quoted in Garnett L. Eskew, Willard's of Washington: The Epic of a Capital Caravansary (New York, 1954), pp. 126-27.

29. Washington City Directory, 1834, 1843, 1846.

30. Hamilton, Zachary Taylor, pp. 149-60.

31. Washington City Directory, 1850.

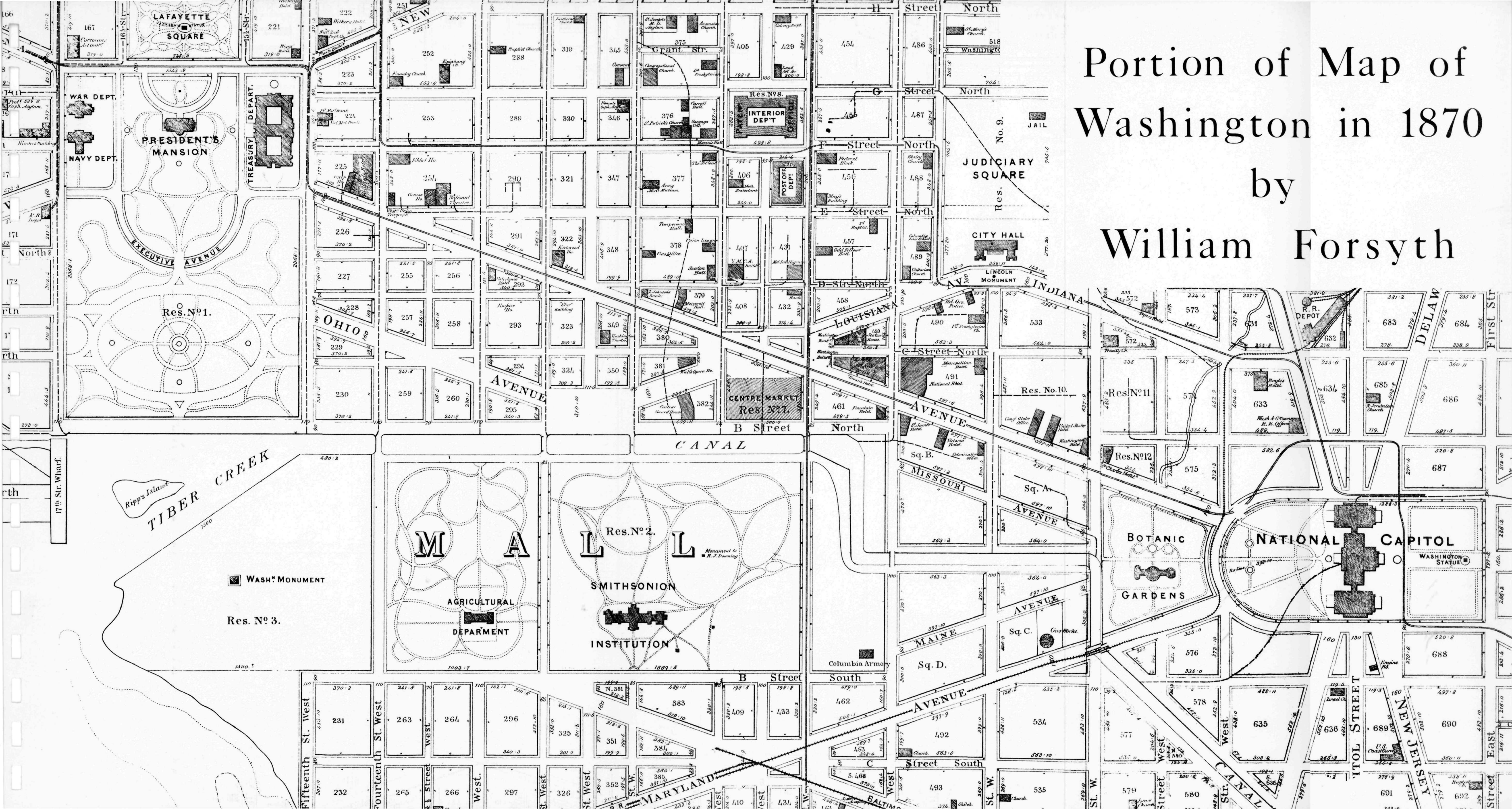
32. Inaugural Committee Souvenir Program, 1901.

The Civil War years, converting the quiet village on the Potomac into a bustling wartime metropolis, elevated Willard's to the high distinction noted by Hawthorne. Abraham Lincoln and his family arrived in Washington on February 23, 1861, under tight security and a mantle of secrecy decreed by Detective Allan Pinkerton. Aides alarmed by assassination threats had urged the President-elect to make his headquarters in a private home before entering the White House, but the New York political boss Thurlow Weed demurred: "It will never do to allow him to go to a private house. He is now public property and ought to be where he can be reached until he is inaugurated." Lincoln agreed. "The truth is," he declared, "I suppose I am now public property; and a public inn is the place where people can have access to me." Thus did Lincoln check in at Willard's Hotel.³³

Meeting at Willard's when the President-elect arrived were delegates from 21 northern and border states, presided over by the aging former President John Tyler. Assembling February 4 on the call of the Virginia Legislature, the Convention sought to find a compromise solution that would mollify the seceded states and bring them peaceably back into the Union. On the day of Lincoln's arrival, the delegates called on him in a second-floor parlor of Willard's but found him firmly opposed to appeasing the cotton states. Starting with the Crittenden Compromise proposals, the Convention so qualified them with further compromises that the result satisfied no one. The Peace

33. Sandburg, Lincoln, I, 54 *passim*.

Portion of Map of Washington in 1870 by William Forsyth



Convention submitted its recommendations to Congress on February 27, then adjourned. This was the last serious attempt to find a political solution to the secession crisis.³⁴

Throughout the four years of conflict Willard's served as a second military and political command post; and it was, wrote Carl Sandburg, the conversation capitol of the Nation. Here in 1862, after visiting a Federal encampment on the outskirts of Washington, Julia Ward Howe in a few inspired predawn hours composed "The Battle Hymn of the Republic." And here in the spring of 1864 the East got its first glimpse of the unpretentious, cigar-smoking western general who would lead the Union armies to victory. The desk clerk failed to recognize Ulysses S. Grant, but the Assistant Secretary of War happened into the lobby and solved that problem. When the general seated himself for dinner that night, the diners rose, pounded the tables, and shouted "Grant, Grant, Grant!" "General Grant, looking very much astonished and perhaps annoyed," observed Noah Brooks, "rose to his feet, awkwardly rubbed his mustache with his napkin. Bowed. Resumed his seat and tried to finish his dinner."³⁵

Willard's remained Grant's favorite Washington hotel, and during his Presidency, 1869-77, his name became closely identified with it. "You see," reminisced a venerable Willard clerk in 1895, "when General

34. Ibid., Chap. 3.

35. Eskew, Willard's, pp. 48-49.

Grant was President he used to come over to the hotel from the White House very often in the evening after his day's work was done and walk through the lobby and corridors. He seemed to find rest and relaxation here. People were told not to speak to him because he liked just to stroll about. But sometimes he would talk to the clerks and the bellboys. Our cigar-stand keeper used to have a box of special Havana Perfectos--the General's favorite brand. That box was never allowed to get empty. He called it General Grant's 'private box.' The management put that chair in the corner so the General could sit down when he felt like it."³⁶

Throughout the late 19th and early 20th centuries the Willard held its preeminent position. Some of the decisive maneuvers in the effort to stave off impeachment of President Andrew Johnson were arranged there.³⁷ Former Confederate Colonel John S. Mosby shocked his Southern admirers but started a trend toward sectional reconciliation when, at Willard's in 1872, he announced his support of Grant's reelection. Three Vice Presidents--Thomas Marshall, Calvin Coolidge, and Charles Dawes--made their homes at the new Willard's in the 20th century. For a time, while Mrs. Harding vacated the White House, the Presidential flag flew from the staff of the Willard. And here every President from Benjamin Harrison through Dwight Eisenhower attended the

36. Ibid., p. 176.

37. John M. Schofield, Forty-Six Years in the Army (New York, 1897), pp. 413-19.

annual Gridiron dinners of the select corps of newsmen who delighted in subjecting Chief Executives to "a roasting in their own juices."³⁸

Across 14th Street from Willard's stood another distinguished hotel, the Ebbitt House. For some time before 1862 a row of attached four-story brick houses faced 14th Street on this location and served as a "respectable and inexpensive" boarding house, known in earlier days as Frenchmen's Hotel. William E. Ebbitt bought the property in 1856 and, renaming it the Ebbitt House, continued to operate it as a boarding house. In 1862 he sold the buildings to his son-in-law, who in turn sold them to Caleb C. Willard, brother of the co-owners of the neighboring establishment across the street. Just as his brothers had built the original row of houses fronting 14th and Pennsylvania into one inclusive Willard Hotel, so Caleb Willard transformed the dingy row fronting 14th and F into a good and "commodious" hotel--an attractive six-story building with highly ornamented trim and mansard roof. The Ebbitt House competed with Willard's and frequently accommodated Willard's overflow; while the new Willard was under construction in 1900-01, resident guests were lodged at the Ebbitt House. Among its distinguished clientele, the Ebbitt include William McKinley, who made his Washington home there while a congressman from Ohio, 1876-90. The

38. Eskew, Willard's, pp. 42, 65, 192-94, 213.

Ebbitt House was torn down to make way for the National Press Building, for which President Coolidge laid the cornerstone in 1926.³⁹

For those officials to whom home life was more congenial than lodging in a hotel, the capital city offered increasingly satisfactory residential properties. In the early decades of the 19th century, these were clustered mainly on and around Pennsylvania Avenue from about 20th Street to Capitol Hill and beyond. After the Civil War, the city began to expand toward the District limits, and the downtown home-dwellers gradually moved out to the fashionable new residential sections. During the founding years of the Republic, however, much history transpired within the walls of private homes as well as in the hotels and boarding houses of the Pennsylvania Avenue district.

While serving as Secretary of State under Jefferson, for example, James Madison and his vivacious wife Dolley lived in a house on F Street two blocks east of the Treasury Department. From here on March 4, 1809, he was escorted to the Capitol for inauguration as President, then returned to occupy his home another week until Jefferson vacated the White House.⁴⁰

39. Ibid., pp. 155-56. Allan B. Slauson, A History of the City of Washington, Its Men and Institutions (Washington, 1903), pp. 401-02. Chalmers M. Roberts, Washington, Past and Present: A Pictorial History of the Nation's Capital (Washington, 1949), p. 240.

40. Irving Brant, James Madison (5 vols. Indianapolis and New York, 1941-56), V, 12-13.

A long-time resident of F Street was John Quincy Adams, who brought the Cutts House on the north side between 13th and 14th in 1821. From 1825 to 1829 Adams occupied the White House but returned to his F Street home afterward to live out his long and distinguished career as a congressman from Massachusetts.

In this house occurred an incident historians have debated for more than a century. With five contenders, the bitterly contested Presidential election of 1824 produced no candidate with a plurality of electoral votes, and the decision fell to the House of Representatives. Front runners were Andrew Jackson and John Quincy Adams, and the lieutenants of both assiduously cultivated the holder of the balance of power, Henry Clay. For weeks the legislative halls, boarding houses, and hotels of Washington vibrated with political maneuvering. It was widely supposed that the candidate who offered Clay the portfolio of Secretary of State would win the race. On January 9, 1825, with the capital consumed with suspense, Clay called on Adams at his F Street home and revealed for the first time that his support would go to Adams instead of Jackson. Whether the decision was the result of a cynical deal has been argued ever since, but Adams did win the Presidency and did award the State Department to Clay.⁴¹

41. James, Life of Andrew Jackson, pp. 418-27. Allan Nevins, ed., The Diary of John Quincy Adams, 1794-1845 (New York, 1951), pp. 335-36. John C. Proctor, Proctor's Washington and Environs (Washington, 1949), p. 112.

Over the years Adams shared the block of F Street between 13th and 14th with distinguished neighbors, among whom were Dr. William Thornton, Superintendent of the Patent Office;⁴² James Buchanan while Secretary of State in the Polk administration;⁴³ John M. Clayton, Secretary of State under Taylor;⁴⁴ and Charles M. Conrad, Fillmore's Secretary of War.⁴⁵ James Hoban, distinguished architect who rebuilt the White House after the British burned it and who designed the State and War Department buildings west of the White House, kept a home on F a block west of Adams,⁴⁶ as did Senator Charles Sumner in the late 1850s.⁴⁷

Until well toward the close of the 19th century the area bounded by Pennsylvania Avenue and F Streets between 1st and 15th proved a popular residential area. Among the better known national figures who lived in private homes in this district were Secretary of War John C. Calhoun and architect Charles Bulfinch (1822); Secretary of War James Barbour and Postmaster General John McLean (1827); Postmaster General Charles Wickliffe (1843); Senators Daniel Webster and Thomas Hart

42. Washington City Directory, 1827.

43. Ibid., 1846.

44. Ibid., 1850.

45. Ibid., 1853.

46. Ibid., 1827.

47. Ibid., 1858, 1862.

Benton (1846); Secretary of War George Crawford (1850); Vice President William R. King and Senators Salmon P. Chase and Charles Sumner (1853, 1855, 1862); Secretary of the Treasury James Guthrie, Secretary of War Jefferson Davis, Postmaster General James Campbell, and Chief Justice Roger Taney (1855); Secretary of the Navy Isaac Toucey and Senators William P. Fessenden, San Houston, R.M.T. Hunter, Andrew Johnson, James M. Mason, and Benjamin F. Wade (1858); Attorney General Edward Bates, Representatives Roscoe Conkling and Francis P. Blair, artists John Mix Stanley, Charles Bird King, and Constantino Brumidi, and author-ethnologist Henry R. Schoolcraft (1862); Attorney General E. R. Hoar and Senators Hannibal Hamlin and Justin S. Morrill (1870).⁴⁸

A notable private home, the Chase-Sprague mansion, stood on the northwest corner of 6th and E. Senator Salmon P. Chase of Ohio rented it with his brilliant and beautiful daughter Kate. When Chase became Treasury Secretary in Lincoln's Cabinet, Kate Chase reigned as the social queen of Washington and openly promoted the Presidential ambitions of her father. Her glittering wedding to the Rhode Island millionaire, Senator William Sprague, in November 1863 took place at the E Street house and was attended by the President, Cabinet members, diplomats, senators, and most of the generals in Washington. After the wedding Sprague bought the house and invited his father-in-law,

48. Ibid. for years cited. For a more complete listing, see appendix.

who became Chief Justice of the United States in 1864, to continue to live there in order that Kate might still act as his hostess. At social events staged in the Chase-Sprague residence, Kate brilliantly maneuvered to win support for her father's unsuccessful drive for the Republican Presidential nomination in 1868. After his death in 1873, Kate moved to his estate, Edgewood, two miles west of the Capitol. With her father gone, her husband's fortune swept away in the Panic of 1873, her marriage clouded by scandal and ultimately ended by divorce, and her fourth child mentally defective, Kate lived until 1899, her poverty relieved by raising chickens and selling milk.⁴⁹

Places of Entertainment

Receptions, dinners, and other forms of officially connected social pleasures have long dominated the Washington entertainment scene. Even so, capital luminaries have also sought respite from official duties through such traditional cultural vehicles as drama and music as well as in the saloons and gambling halls that once dotted Pennsylvania Avenue. The latter were especially popular in the middle 19th century. Edward Pendleton's "Hall of the Bleeding Heart" and the "Palace of Fortune," both located on the Avenue, attracted a fashionable clientele.

49. Ishbel Ross, Proud Kate: Portrait of an Ambitious Woman (New York, 1953). Albert Bushnell Hart, Salmon Portland Chase (Boston, 1899).

It was said that "When it was impossible to muster a quorum in the Senate or House the missing statesmen could be found here."⁵⁰

For more than four decades Carusi's Assembly Rooms held high rank as a social center. At this site on C Street between 11th and 12th (since obliterated by the Federal Triangle), the Washington Theater had opened in 1805 and had offered mediocre drama that for one performance at least attracted President Madison and his family. The building partially burned in 1820, and two years later it was acquired by Gaetani Carusi, Italian immigrant and former musician in the Marine Band. Carusi conducted a dancing academy and maintained a public ballroom and dining room. Concerts, balls, dinners, receptions, dramatic performances, and a variety of other events made Carusi's a popular Washington gathering place. At Carusi's were staged inaugural balls for Presidents John Quincy Adams, Andrew Jackson, Martin Van Buren, William Henry Harrison, and James K. Polk.⁵¹

50. Washington Star, Jan. 1, 1893. WPA, Washington, p. 634.

51. Inaugural Committee Souvenir Program, 1901. Constance Green, Washington, Village and Capital, 1800-1878 (Princeton, 1962), p. 95. WPA, Washington, p. 636. Washington Star, June 23, 1946. Other favored spots for inaugural balls were the hotels (Madison, Monroe, Hayes), a series of temporary buildings erected on Judiciary Square especially for the purpose (Taylor, Buchanan, Lincoln, Grant), the Treasury Building (Grant), the Smithsonian Institution (Garfield), and the Pension Building (Cleveland, Harrison).

From the day in 1805 on which Carusi's predecessor, the Washington Theater, opened its doors, capital residents patronized the legitimate stage at a choice of numerous theaters. Most notable in history are the National and Ford's.

Six successive buildings at 13th and E have housed the National, oldest theatrical institution in Washington, since it opened in 1835. All the prominent 19th-century stock companies played at the National and featured such entertainment greats as Edwin Forrest, Lola Montez, Junius Brutus Booth, John Wilkes Booth, Joseph Jefferson, Lilly Langtry, Sarah Bernhardt, Lillian Russell, and Adelina Patti. Presidents, Cabinet officers, and congressional leaders for more than a century have sat in front of its stage. Fillmore and his entire Cabinet attended the opening performance in 1850 of Jenny Lind, the "Swedish Nightingale." Inaugural balls for two Presidents, William Henry Harrison and James K. Polk, were held at the National as well as at Carusi's. The day after Polk's ball, the building burned to the ground.⁵²

In contrast to the 130-year history of the National, Ford's Theater enjoyed only brief success during the Civil War years, but it has come down to history as the scene of the assassination of Abraham Lincoln. Late in 1861 John T. Ford leased the Baptist Church structure that had stood since 1833 on the east side of 10th Street between E and F.

52. Slauson, History of Washington, pp. 299-300. WPA, Washington, pp. 144, 149, 636. Washington Post, March 4, 1933. Green, Washington, I, 154, 224.

Renovated, it opened as "Ford's Atheneum" in March 1862 and enjoyed instant success, President Lincoln attending for the first time on May 28. On December 30, however, the building was almost wholly destroyed by fire, and not until August 1863 did a rebuilt Ford's Theater open to the public. For the remainder of the war it vied with Leonard Grover's National in providing dramatic and musical entertainment to wartime Washington. And here on Good Friday 1865, five days after Appomattox, its final tragic drama was played out.⁵³

By then Ford's had become a favorite with the President: he had attended eight performances there, and Mrs. Lincoln had organized additional parties of her own. On the night of April 14, 1865, a standing ovation and from the orchestra pit the strains of "Hail to the Chief" greeted the President and First Lady as they seated themselves in the flag-draped Presidential box. Shortly after 10 P.M., during the third act of "Our American Cousins," actor John Wilkes Booth entered the box. He shot Lincoln in the head, then leaped to the stage below and made his escape. Carried across the street to the Petersen House, the President died at 7:22 next morning.⁵⁴

53. George J. Olszewski et al., Historic Structures Report: Restoration of Ford's Theater (Washington: National Park Service, 1963), Parts I and II.

54. Ibid., Part III.

The tragedy ended the theatrical history of Ford's Theater. Thereafter the building housed various government agencies, including for 21 years the famed Army Medical Museum. Together with the facing House Where Lincoln Died, Ford's has been preserved by the National Park Service since 1931 and is currently being restored to its appearance at the time of the assassination. Plans are also projected to return the structure to its historic theatrical use.

Newspapers

Something in the neighborhood of a thousand newspapers have been established in Washington since 1800, and the capital has acquired a reputation as a newspaper graveyard. Nevertheless, several stand forth as unusually influential in shaping national opinion. This was especially true in the first four decades of capital history, when Washington journals carried government news to every corner of the land and local political leaders looked for guidance to the party organs published in Washington. Capital newspapers began to lose some of this ascendancy after April 1, 1845, when Samuel F. B. Morse opened the first telegraph office in the United States in the Old Post Office building on 7th Street between E and F and thus stimulated the growth of newspapers throughout the country;⁵⁵ but some continued to figure prominently on the national stage. Today's Star and Post, dating respectively from 1852 and 1877, claim some distinguished predecessors.

55. Washington Star, Feb. 10, 1929. Proctor, Proctor's Washington, pp. 81-82.

During the first half of the 19th century, few newspapers in the United States were more widely read than the National Intelligencer. At the behest of Thomas Jefferson, Samuel H. Smith moved the journal to Washington in 1800. Published at 7th and D Streets, the Intelligencer served as the official organ of the Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe administrations, and Jeffersonian Republicans throughout the Nation looked to it for news of happenings in Washington and for expressions of party philosophy and strategy. In 1812 Smith sold the paper to Joseph Gales, Jr., who in 1812 brought William H. Seaton into partnership with him. Gales and Seaton became prominent actors on the Washington scene, and both served terms as mayor of the city.

In 1814, as the British converged on Washington, Gales and Seaton portrayed the operations of the invading army in language that infuriated its commander, Admiral George Cockburn. When Washington fell, the admiral personally led a detail of soldiers down Pennsylvania Avenue to destroy the newspaper plant. Although dissuaded from burning the building, the redcoats smashed the presses and scattered the type, halting publication for a few days.

The National Intelligencer maintained its influence and political continuity as Henry Clay's National Republican Party inherited the mantle of Jeffersonian Republicanism and as this party in turn evolved into the Whig Party. The journal fell into brief disfavor during Zachary Taylor's year in the White House, but reasserted its authority upon the succession

of Millard Fillmore. With the demise of the Whigs in the 1850s, the Intelligencer embraced the Democratic cause until it went out of business in 1869.

The National Intelligencer reported the proceedings of Congress and consequently proved of immense interest to people around the country who had an interest in the debates of their lawmakers. Today, for the period before 1833, the files of the Intelligencer offer the most valuable source of information about happenings on Capitol Hill.⁵⁶

Chief political opponent of the Intelligencer was Duff Green's United States Telegraph and its successor the Washington Globe. Green established the Telegraph on E Street between 9th and 10th in 1825, and it quickly became the organ of Jacksonian Democracy. After Jackson's inauguration in 1829, Green was named printer to Congress and also, as a member of Jackson's famed "Kitchen Cabinet," participated in the inner councils of the administration. As purveyor of the party line, the Telegraph fell into disfavor when Green chose the wrong side in the intraparty controversy that erupted between Jackson and Calhoun. He lost his congressional printing appointment, and the paper discontinued publication in 1837.

In need of a replacement, Jackson called Francis P. Blair, Sr., to Washington and persuaded him to launch the Washington Globe. From 1830 to 1845 the Globe, located on E Street between 13th and 14th, was

56. Dictionary of American Biography, VII, 101. Dictionary of American History, IV, 60. WPA, Washington, pp. 172-73.

the official organ of the Democratic Party, and through its columns Blair exercised strong influence in the Nation. Blair also published the Congressional Globe, a record of the proceedings of Congress. Not only of interest to a multitude of people at the time, the proceedings are an indispensable source to modern historians. In 1845, when the Washington Union replaced the Globe as the Democratic organ, the Congressional Globe moved to Pennsylvania Avenue between 3d and 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ Streets. It remained here until 1873, when it was taken over by the Government and became the Congressional Record.⁵⁷

Representing a segment of opinion that became increasingly vocal with the approach of the Civil War was the National Era, an abolitionist journal published by Gamaliel Bailey on 7th Street between E and F. In a city so essentially southern as Washington, Bailey could not pursue the inflammatory course of William Lloyd Garrison's more famous Liberator. Even so, when in 1848 76 house slaves escaped with abolitionist aid and were only with difficulty recaptured, Washingtonians immediately suspected Bailey of abetting the escape. General rioting took place in the city, and a mob converged on the National Era plant intent on wrecking it. A last-minute effort convinced the rioters that the newspaper was not involved and saved it from destruction. The chief claim of the National Era to significance sprang from the editor's search for

57. Allen C. Clark, "More about the Fourth Ward," Records of the Columbia Historical Society, XXXIII-IV, 84. Dictionary of American Biography, XV, 628; II, 331. Washington City Directory, 1830, p. 36. Ibid., 1834, p. 24.

an antislavery serial. He persuaded Harriet Beecher Stowe to undertake the project and in the spring of 1851 ran the first installment of the work that in book form took the title Uncle Tom's Cabin.⁵⁸

Representing another response to the slavery issue was the American Colonization Society, with headquarters in an old brownstone structure on Pennsylvania Avenue at John Marshall Place. Founded in 1817 and spreading its branches throughout the Nation, the Society encouraged manumission of the slaves and their return to Africa and a country of their own--Liberia. Between 1821 and 1867 the Society transported more than 6,000 Negroes to Liberia. Thereafter, until dissolved in 1917, it functioned chiefly as a trustee of the Liberian venture.⁵⁹

Although the influence of the Washington newspapers dimmed after the advent of the telegraph, the capital continued to be a journalistic center of the Nation. The Civil War brought correspondents of the great metropolitan dailies to Washington, and the wire services sped news from them to journals throughout the country. The Associated Press located during the war at 7th and Pennsylvania, and the correspondents concentrated along 14th Street above Pennsylvania Avenue--a tradition confirmed in 1926 with the construction of the National Press Building at 14th and F.

58. Proctor, Proctor's Washington, pp. 484-86. Charles M. Wilke, John C. Calhoun, Sectionalist, 1840-1850 (New York, 1951), pp. 341-42.

59. Washington Star, Jan. 1, 1893. Dictionary of American History, I, 59.

Commercial

The hotels, boarding houses, residences, and pleasure resorts of Pennsylvania Avenue and its bordering blocks took up most of the street frontage, but interspersed here and there were assorted commercial establishments. "Dry Goods Row," for example, occupied D Street between 8th and 9th in the 1860s. Memorable in these years was the photographic studio of Mathew Brady at 627 Pennsylvania Avenue. Here statesmen, military heroes, and celebrities mingled with clerks and soldiers to have their portraits taken by the famous photographer, and from here he set forth to inscribe on wet plates the momentous events transpiring in Washington and on the Virginia battlefields.⁶⁰ Remembered, too, was Joseph Shillington's newsstand and book shop on the Avenue at John Marshall Place. Here John C. Calhoun, Henry Clay, and their congressional colleagues regularly bought their homestate newspapers.⁶¹

But most noted as Washington's shopping center was the old Center Market, a capital landmark for 130 years. Located between Pennsylvania Avenue and B Street where the National Archives now stands, the market was established in 1801 and consisted at first of a small cluster of stalls and sheds where farmers from the surrounding area came a day or two each week to sell produce. Later, permanent buildings were erected,

60. James D. Horan, Mathew Brady: Historian with a Camera (New York, 1955), p. xiii.

61. Washington Star, Jan. 1, 1893.

and the market spread over the square. Gradually, in addition to produce, other merchandise was offered for sale, and prior to 1850 slave auctions were regularly held. In 1870 fire swept the square, but it was rebuilt two years later to contain 666 stalls, an armory, and on the second floor a drill room. Because of the marshy land between the market and the canal on the south, the center became known as Marsh Market, and this was later corrupted into Mash Market.

Over the years the capital's most prominent residents journeyed to Center Market to buy fresh meat, fruit, vegetables, and dairy products. President Thomas Jefferson enjoyed early morning excursions to the market to obtain food for the White House larder. Chief Justice John Marshall was also frequently observed there, and one of the most memorable scenes associated with the square was the massive frame of old General Winfield Scott, market basket on his arm, circulating among the stalls in pursuit of grocery items that met his renowned perfectionist standards. Edith Galt, before her marriage to President Woodrow Wilson, was another noted frequenter of Center Market's stalls. The old market was demolished in 1931 to make way for the National Archives.⁶²

Railroads

Pinning their hopes for commercial and industrial growth on the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, begun in 1828 but not finished until 1850,

62. WPA, Washington, pp. 634-35. Washington Topham, "Center Market and Vicinity," Records of the Columbia Historical Society, XXVI (1922), 1-88.

Washingtonians overlooked the looming significance of the railroads. The Baltimore and Ohio reached Washington from Baltimore in 1835 but was not permitted to enter the city until 1852. For 17 years the trains halted on the outskirts of the capital and the cars were drawn by horses to the passenger and freight depot at 2d and Pennsylvania. In 1852, with the canal failing to live up to expectations, the B & O rails were admitted to Washington, and an imposing depot was erected at New Jersey Avenue and C Streets. In 1855 connections to the south were effected when the Alexandria and Washington built across Long Bridge and ran its tracks along 1st Street at the foot of Capitol Hill to the B & O depot.⁶³

In 1870 the Baltimore and Potomac, an affiliate of the Pennsylvania Railroad, won a congressional charter to lay its tracks across the Mall and erect a depot in the heart of downtown Washington. The great Gothic stone terminal opened at 6th and B, where the National Gallery of Art now stands, in 1873. Even in an era when the railroads reigned all powerful and urban esthetics were just awakening, the B & P station offended many Washingtonians. A rising chorus of protest, strengthened by the nationwide "city beautiful" movement of the 1890s, ultimately doomed the ugly intrusion; in 1909, following completion of the present Union Station two years earlier, the tracks were cleared from the Mall and the depot razed.⁶⁴

63. Green, Washington, I, 194-96.

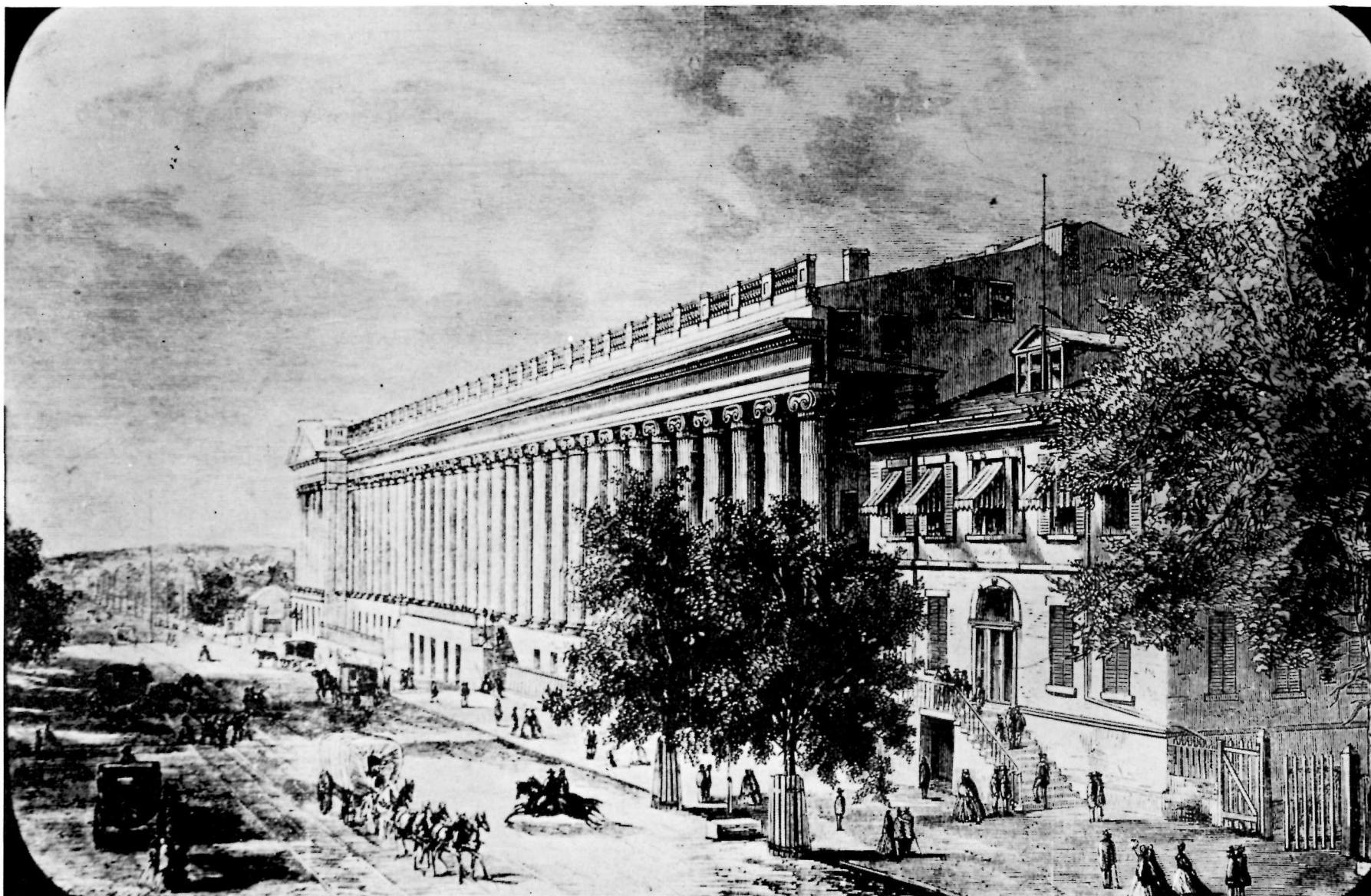
64. Ibid., I, 296, 346, 352, 354; II, 52-54, 133, 137.

The B & P depot is chiefly significant in U.S. history as the site of the assassination of President James A. Garfield. Planning to join his family for a seashore and mountain vacation, the President drove to the railway station on the morning of July 2, 1881, scarcely four months after his inauguration. Accompanied by Secretary of State James G. Blaine, he stepped from his carriage and entered the B Street entrance of the depot. Just inside the door two shots rang out and Garfield fell with mortal wounds, the victim of a disappointed office-seeker who was promptly apprehended. A police ambulance rushed the President to the White House, where he lingered on the point of death for weeks. Heeding his pleas, the attending physicians consented to his movement to the seashore, and on September 6 an Adams Express wagon transported him up Pennsylvania Avenue to the depot once again. On September 19, at Elberon, New Jersey, President Garfield died.⁶⁵

Public Buildings

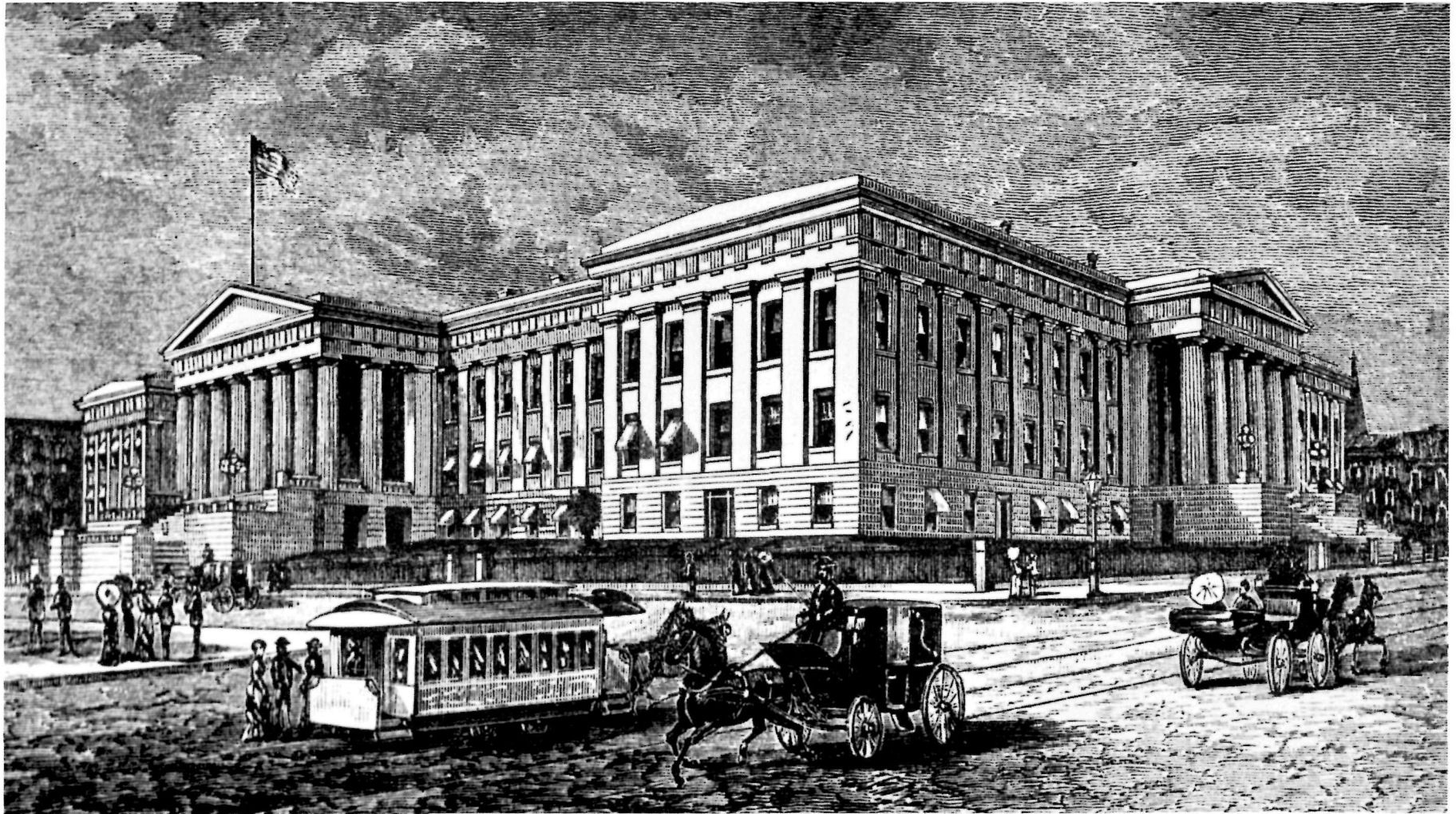
Anchored on the east by the White House and the west by the Capitol, the Pennsylvania Avenue district includes a group of government buildings notable for their antiquity and historical value. Collectively they represent a century and a half of Federal architectural history in the capital and recall the founding and development of several historic governmental institutions.

65. Archie Robertson, "Murder Most Foul," American Heritage, XV (August 1964), 91-104.



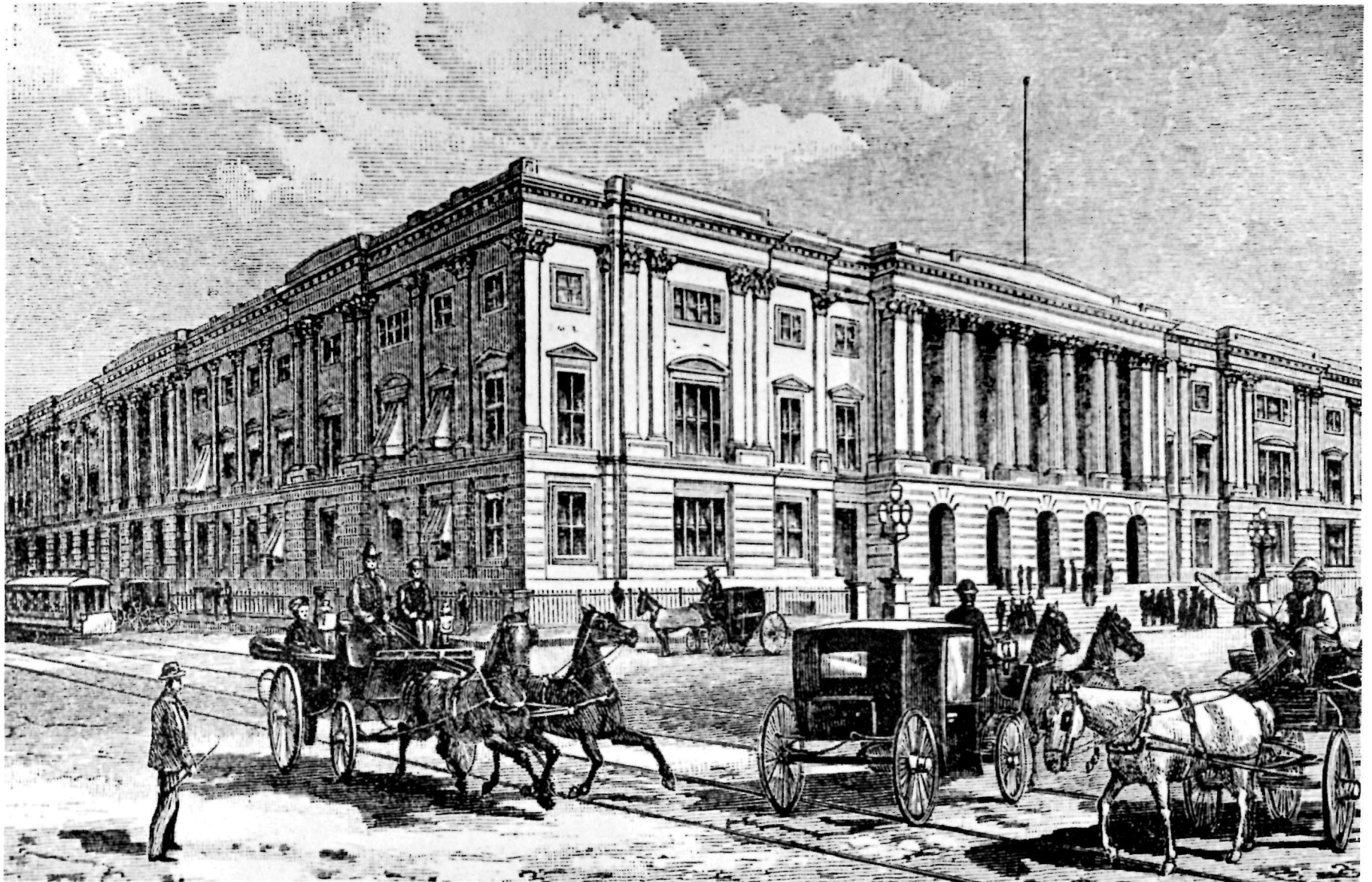
TREASURY DEPARTMENT

Legend credits President Andrew Jackson with disrupting the L'Enfant Plan by interposing Treasury in the vista from the White House to the Capitol. Designed by Robert Mills, Treasury was begun in 1836 but not completed in its final dimensions until 1869. This view, looking south in the middle 19th century, shows the much-admired colonnade fronting 15th Street. A north unit facing Pennsylvania Avenue later replaced the State Department building at right. Library of Congress.



PATENT OFFICE

A popular attraction for a generation of Washington visitors, the Patent Office exhibited thousands of models that demonstrated the ingenuity of American inventors. Robert Mills supervised construction of the south wing in 1837-40, and the three additional wings were completed by 1867. Headquarters of the Interior Department from 1849 to 1917, it will ultimately house the Smithsonian's National Portrait Gallery. This view from 7th Street looks west along F Street in 1887. From H.W. Moore, Picturesque Washington.



OLD POST OFFICE

Another creation of Robert Mills, this edifice across the street from the Patent Office was built between 1839 and 1869 to house both the Post Office Department and the city post office. Later, with completion of the new Post Office on Pennsylvania Avenue in 1899, the General Land Office occupied the building. The F Street entrance is viewed from 7th Street in this 1887 engraving. From W.H. Moore, Picturesque Washington.

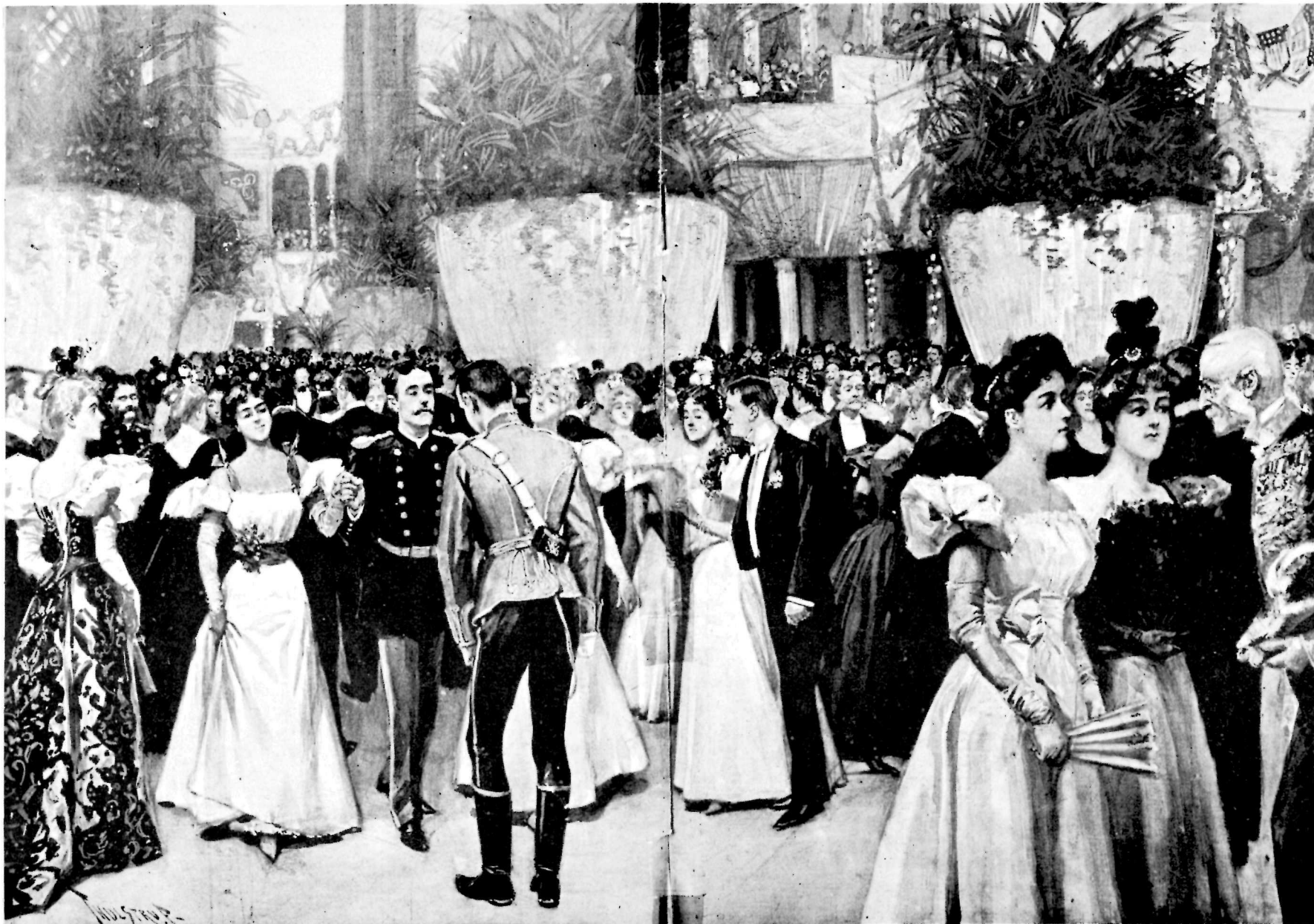


The Old City Hall on Judiciary Square, completed in three stages between 1820 and 1849, housed the municipal government until 1871, the District of Columbia judiciary to the present. This view is about 1860.
Library of Congress.

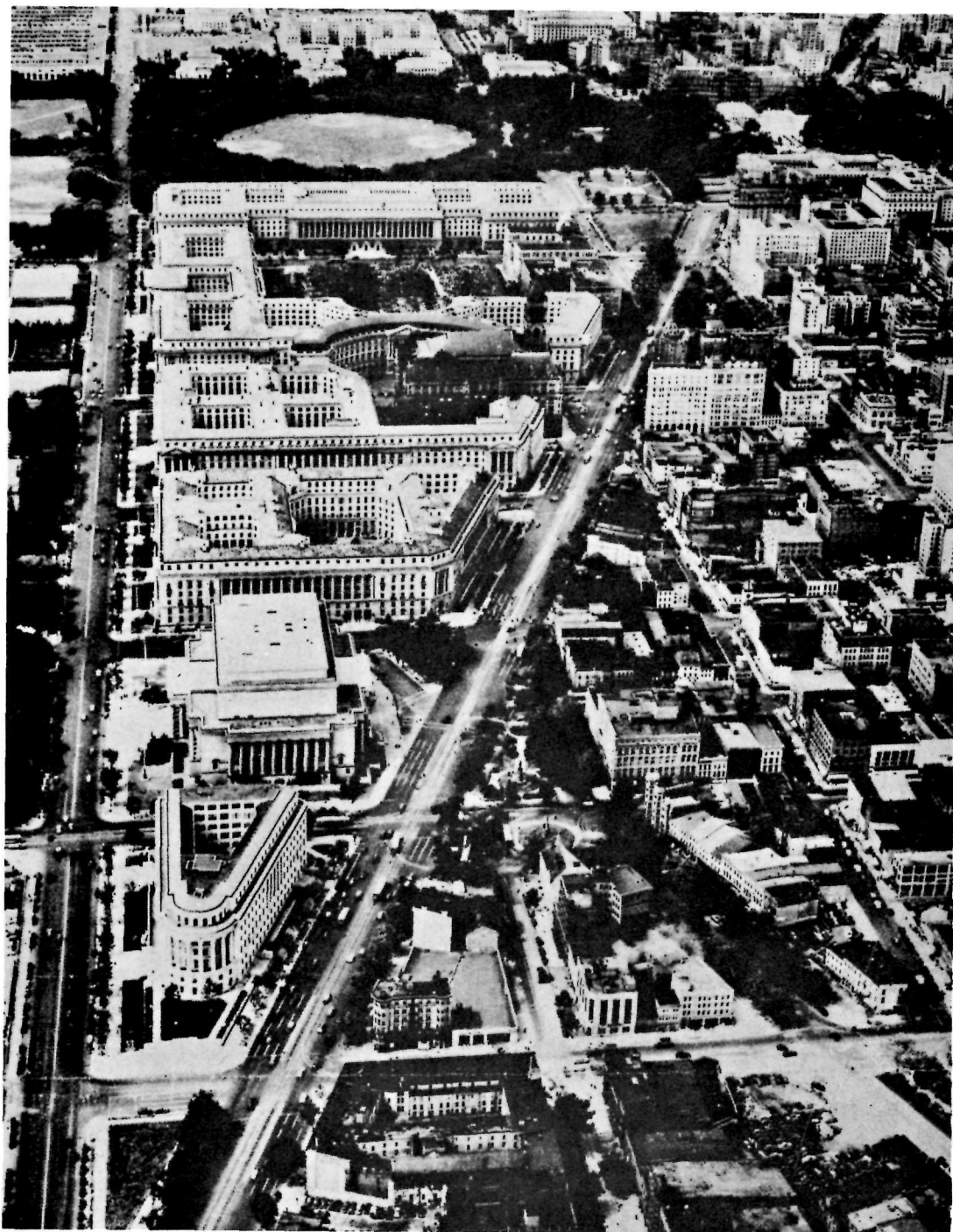


PENSION BUILDING

General Montgomery Meigs designed this massive brick structure on the north side of Judiciary Square to house the army of clerks charged with disbursing pensions to Civil War veterans. Completed in 1885, "Meigs' Old Red Barn" at once evoked ridicule in many quarters. No more highly admired today, it is nonetheless venerated as a monument to the architectural taste of an earlier generation. From H.W. Moore, Picturesque Washington.



The Pension Building afforded a spacious setting for Presidential inaugural balls. This drawing from Harper's Weekly depicts the closing scenes of William McKinley's inaugural ball, March 4, 1897.
Library of Congress.



FEDERAL TRIANGLE

Based on a concept expressed by the McMillan Commission of 1901, the "Triangle Plan" was adopted to give effect to provisions in the Public Buildings Act of 1926. Built between 1928 and 1938, the Federal Triangle introduced a monumental architectural scale to Pennsylvania Avenue. From Washington Sunday Star, Dec. 17, 1939.

Treasury Department. This massive sandstone-and-granite edifice on 15th Street east of the White House is the most impressive of the many memorials to Robert Mills, first native-born professional American architect and chief exponent of Greek Revival architecture in the formative years of the United States. His first commission after Andrew Jackson appointed him "Architect of Public Buildings" in 1836 was the Treasury Department. The first Treasury building had been destroyed by the British in 1814 and the second had burned to the ground in 1833. Mills' plan was promptly adopted, but a dispute over location delayed construction. Legend credits President Jackson with jamming his cane into the earth and declaring, "Right here, the cornerstone shall be laid"--thus disrupting L'Enfant's city plan by blocking the view of the Capitol from the White House. The central T-shaped unit designed by Mills, marked by a long unbroken colonnade, was erected between 1836 and 1841. The north, south, and west units, designed by Thomas U. Walter, were not completed until 1869. The soft Acquia sandstone used by Mills suffered badly from exposure and was replaced by granite in the 20th century; the Walter extensions were originally constructed of granite. Of the Federal buildings in Washington, only the White House and the Capitol are older than Treasury.⁶⁶

66. WPA, Washington, pp. 849-51. Slauson, City of Washington, p. 94. Dictionary of American Biography, XIII, 9-13. The national historical significance of this building will be assessed under the forthcoming study "Architecture" in the National Park Service program of evaluating historic sites and buildings under the Historic Sites Act.

Old Patent Office (National Portrait Gallery). Patent legislation designed to stimulate and protect American inventions dates from 1790, and the Patent Office was one of the earliest Federal agencies. The current patent system, giving inventors 17 years to make, use, and sell their inventions, originated in 1836, and the following year work began on the massive structure on F Street between 7th and 9th intended to provide adequate offices for patent officials as well as display room for the growing collection of patented devices.

The Patent Office's restrained Greek Doric design, facing 7th Street with a replica of the Parthenon, was the work of William P. Elliot. Robert Mills supervised the execution of the design. The south wing was completed in 1840. Mills also began the east wing, authorized in 1849, but he was replaced in 1851 by Edward Clark. The construction of the west and north wings completed the present freestone-and-granite structure by 1867. Although Mills had tried to make the original building fireproof, a fire gutted the interior in 1877. Elaborate plans were made to enlarge the structure, but they were never carried out. In 1936 the long flight of steps on the south side was removed to accommodate the widening of F Street. Inside the south wing, visitors entered one of several ornate halls displaying patent models. The south hall measured 266 by 63 feet, and its high arched ceiling rested on several rows of columns.

The Patent Office became a bureau of the Department of the Interior when the new Cabinet agency was created in 1849, and the old Patent

Office building thereafter served as Interior headquarters until 1917, when a new building was completed at 18th and F. Housing the Patent Bureau, the Pension Bureau (until completion of the Pension Building in 1885), the General Land Office, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Census Bureau, the Agriculture Bureau (1862-68), and after 1879 the Geological Survey, the Patent Office was the principal government office building until late in the 19th century. Its extensive library and collection of patent models--300,000 by 1884--made it a major Washington attraction. During the Civil War part of the building was used as a military barracks and hospital, and Lincoln's second inaugural ball was held there. The Patent Bureau continued to occupy the edifice until 1932, when it moved to new quarters in the Commerce Building, turning over its old home to the Civil Service Commission. The Smithsonian Institution now plans a National Portrait Gallery in the building.⁶⁷

Old Pension Building (Selective Service). One of the most architecturally distinctive Federal structures in the Nation, the Pension Building was erected in 1882-85 to house the Interior bureau charged with the mammoth task of dispensing pensions to the host of Civil War veterans. Retired army Quartermaster General Montgomery C.

67. WPA, Washington, pp. 947-50, 976-79. Slauson, City of Washington, pp. 94-95. Joseph W. Moore, Picturesque Washington (Providence, 1884), pp. 213-24. The Patent Office building has been declared by the Secretary of the Interior of national historical significance and eligible for the Registry of National Historic Landmarks.

Meigs, noted for his earlier work on the Washington Aqueduct and the Capitol extension, designed the massive brick structure on the north side of Judiciary Square. Measuring 200 by 400 feet, the four-story Italian Renaissance building is surmounted by a unique three-story clerestory whose panes are all vertical, to reduce heat absorption. The roof over the spacious and soaring inner court rests on eight brick columns 75 feet high. A freize depicting Civil War scenes bands the exterior on all sides between the first and second floors.

Meigs declared that the structure was "perfectly fireproof," and General Sherman is reputed to have expressed the opinion of many with "It's too bad the damn thing is fireproof." Esthetics aside, "Meigs' Old Red Barn" is a distinctive capital landmark, noted as home of the agency whose 1,500 employees disbursed \$8 million in pensions to 2,763,063 veterans of four wars and as the setting for inaugural balls for Cleveland, Harrison, McKinley, Roosevelt, and Taft. When the Pension Bureau moved to the Interior Building in 1926, the General Accounting Office occupied the building until 1950. Since then it has housed a variety of Federal agencies.⁶⁸

Old City Hall (District Courthouse). One of the oldest and most pleasing architectural ornaments of Washington is the District Courthouse on Judiciary Square. A fine example of Greek Revival architecture,

68. General Services Administration, Historical Study No. 1: Pension Building (Washington, 1964).

it was designed by George Hadfield, one of the architects of the Capitol, as the seat of municipal government. The central unit was completed in 1820, the east wing in 1826, and the west wing in 1849. A north unit was added in 1881. By 1871, the District judiciary had crowded out the city government and continues to sit in the building. Here John H. Surratt was acquitted of complicity in the Lincoln assassination conspiracy; here in 1881-82 Charles Guiteau was convicted of the assassination of President Garfield and hanged in the nearby District jail; and here in 1928 the Sinclair-Doheny trials resulting from the Teapot Dome scandal were conducted.⁶⁹

Old Post Office Building (U.S. Tariff Commission). Covering the entire block bordered by 7th, 8th, E, and F Streets, this building is the third of the trio of classic Greek Revival edifices designed or influenced by Robert Mills, the other two being Treasury and Patent. The Post Office Department and Patent Office had occupied the upper stories of Blodgett's Hotel at this location before its destruction by fire in 1836. Work began on the Post Office building in 1839 and with extensions built by Thomas U. Walter, Montgomery Meigs, and Edward Clark was finally completed in 1869. Both the Post Office Department and the city post office occupied the building initially, but with the growth of the Department the local post office was crowded out. With

69. F. Regis Noel, The Court-House of the District of Columbia (2d ed. Washington, 1939). WPA, Washington, pp. 1071-74.

completion of the Post Office building on Pennsylvania Avenue between 11th and 12th in 1899, both general and local offices were again housed under the same roof.

For a time the original building housed the General Land Office, then after use by Selective Service in World War I became headquarters of the U.S. Tariff Commission. In this building in 1845 Samuel F.B. Morse opened the first telegraph office in the United States, and here a year later the first attempt was made to determine latitude and longitude by telegraph.⁷⁰

Federal Triangle. In the triangle formed by Pennsylvania Avenue, 15th Street, and the Mall, urban planners of the early 20th century saw not only an eyesore of nondescript commercial and public buildings but also a challenge to create an architectural unity befitting the heart of the capital. The Public Buildings Act of 1926 and the personal dedication of Treasury Secretary Andrew Mellon made possible the realization of this vision. Plans for the public buildings that were to compose the "Federal Triangle" were shaped by the desire of Congress, in the words of the Fine Arts Commission, "to clean up the south side of Pennsylvania Avenue," and "to develop between the avenue and the Mall a series of notable buildings which, while housing Government activities,

70. WPA, Washington, pp. 983-84. Slauson, City of Washington, p. 94. Moore, Picturesque Washington, Chap. 13. H.P. Caemmerer, Washington, the National Capital (Washington, 1932), pp. 281-84.

shall represent the dignity and power of the Nation." Secretary Mellon, to whom the project was entrusted, formed a board of architectural consultants to draw up a design based on general recommendations submitted by the Fine Arts Commission. The "Triangle Plan" that resulted, in essence that recommended in the McMillan Plan of 1901, provided for a monumental treatment of Pennsylvania and Constitution Avenues--one that harmonized with the classical architecture introduced by Washington and Jefferson for the White House and the Capitol and carried forward in the designs of Robert Mills and his contemporaries.

Work commenced in 1928, faltered in the early years of the Depression, then surged with the inauguration of the Public Works Program. Essentially completed by 1938, the development has yet to express the full dimensions of the plan. Included in the Federal Triangle, from east to west, are the Federal Trade Commission, the National Archives, the Justice Department, the Internal Revenue Service, the Interstate Commerce Commission, and the Labor, Post Office, and Commerce Departments. Undisturbed by the plan as it was executed were the massive Romanesque Post Office building on Pennsylvania Avenue between 11th and 12th, opened in 1899; the white marble neoclassical District Building at 14th and E, dating from 1908; and the nondescript brown-brick office building once owned by the Southern Railway and now occupied by the U.S. Coast Guard.

Although the concept and execution of the Federal Triangle project has drawn much criticism from some architectural circles, in others it

is regarded as significant in introducing to Pennsylvania Avenue an appropriate monumental scale already expressed in the White House, Capitol, Treasury, Patent Office, Old Post Office, and Old City Hall. Only in recent years has the consequence--and the challenge--for the district north of the Avenue become apparent.⁷¹

71. Caemmerer, Washington, pp. 153-72. WPA, Washington, pp. 119-20.

Appendix

PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE DISTRICT:
RESIDENCES OF NATIONAL FIGURES IN SELECTED YEARS
(Compiled from Washington City Directories)

1822

Secretary of State John Quincy Adams: north side of F Street
between 13th and 14th (now 1333-35 F).
Secretary of War John C. Calhoun: south side of E Street
between 6th and 7th.
Postmaster General R. J. Meigs, Jr.: Rev. O. B. Brown's, south
side of E Street between 8th and 9th.
Speaker of the House Philip P. Barbour: Brown's Indian Queen
Hotel, Pennsylvania Avenue between 6th and 7th.
Rep. James Buchanan of Pennsylvania: Brown's Hotel.
Architect Charles Bulfinch: east side of 6th Street between D and
E, near Unitarian Church.

1827

Secretary of War James Barbour: E Street between 6th and 7th.
Postmaster General John McLean: north side of C Street between
 $4\frac{1}{2}$ and 6th.
Architect James Hoban: north side of F Street between 14th and 15th.
Dr. William Thornton, Superintendent of Patent Office: north side
of F Street between 13th and 14th.

1830

Secretary of the Treasury Samuel D. Ingham: E Street near Post Office.

1834

Postmaster General William Barry: Fuller's Hotel, 14th and
Pennsylvania.
Attorney General B. F. Butler: Fuller's Hotel, 14th and
Pennsylvania.
Speaker of the House Andrew Stephenson: Brown's Indian Queen
Hotel, Pennsylvania Avenue between 6th and 7th.

Senator Daniel Webster: Mrs. Bayliss', opposite Center Market.
 Senator John Tyler: Mrs. McDaniel's, north side of Pennsylvania
 Avenue between 3d and $4\frac{1}{2}$ Streets.
 Rep. Franklin Pierce: Mrs. Hill's, northeast corner 6th and
 Pennsylvania.
 Rep. Millard Fillmore: Mrs. Fletcher's, north side of E Street
 between 6th and 7th.
 Rep. John Bell: Mrs. Saunders', E Street between 7th and 8th.
 Rep. David Crockett: Mrs. Ball's, south side of Pennsylvania
 between 6th and 7th.
 Rep. James K. Polk: Mrs. Clements', west side of 3d Street between
 Pennsylvania Avenue and C.
 Rep. Thomas Corwin: Mrs. Kennedy's, east side of $4\frac{1}{2}$ between
 Pennsylvania and C.
 Painter Charles Bird King: east side of 12th between E and F Streets.

1843

Secretary of War James M. Porter: Fuller's City Hotel, 14th and
 Pennsylvania.
 Secretary of the Navy David R. Henshaw: Fuller's City Hotel.
 Postmaster General Charles A. Wickliffe: east side of 7th Street
 between E and F, near E.
 Attorney General John Nelson: Fuller's City Hotel.

1846

Secretary of State James Buchanan: north side of F Street between
 13th and 14th.
 Postmaster General Cave Johnson: north side of G Street between
 10th and 11th.
 Senator Daniel Webster: north side of D Street between 5th and 6th.
 Senator John C. Calhoun: United States Hotel, north side of
 Pennsylvania Avenue between 3d and $4\frac{1}{2}$.
 Senator Thomas Hart Benton: south side of C Street between 3d and $4\frac{1}{2}$.
 Senator Lewis Cass: Fuller's Hotel, 14th and Pennsylvania.
 Senator Thomas Corwin: Mr. Stettinius', south side of Louisiana (now
 Indiana) Avenue between $4\frac{1}{2}$ and 6th.
 Rep. Jefferson Davis: Mrs. Potters, south side of Pennsylvania Avenue
 between 3d and $4\frac{1}{2}$ Streets.
 Speaker of the House John W. Davis: Harbaugh's, west side of 7th
 Street between D and E.
 Rep. Stephen A. Douglas: Mrs. Stilson's, south side of Pennsylvania
 Avenue between 14th and 15th.

Rep. Hannibal Hamlin: Exchange Hotel, north side of C Street between $4\frac{1}{2}$ and 6th Streets.
Rep. Robert Dale Owen: Cudlipp's, south side of Pennsylvania Avenue between 3d and $4\frac{1}{2}$ Streets.
Rep. David Wilmot: Mrs. Masi's, $4\frac{1}{2}$ and Pennsylvania Avenue.

1850

Vice President Millard Fillmore: Willard's Hotel, 14th and Pennsylvania.
Secretary of State John M. Clayton: south side of F Street between 13th and 14th.
Secretary of War George M. Crawford: F Street between 6th and 7th.
Chief Justice Roger B. Taney: Brenner's, south side of Pennsylvania Avenue between 3d and $4\frac{1}{2}$ Streets.
Justice James M. Wayne: Gadsby's Hotel, 3d and Pennsylvania.
Justice John Catron: Gadsby's Hotel.
Justice Peter V. Daniel: Brenner's
Justice Levi Woodbury: Gadsby's Hotel.
Justice Robert C. Grier: Brenner's
Senator John Bell: United States Hotel, Pennsylvania Avenue between 3d and $4\frac{1}{2}$ Streets.
Senator Henry Clay: National Hotel, Pennsylvania Avenue between 6th and 7th Streets, (died here June 29, 1852).
Senator Hannibal Hamlin: St. Charles Hotel, 3d and Pennsylvania.
Senator Sam Houston: Brown's Indian Queen Hotel, Pennsylvania Avenue between 6th and 7th.
Rep. Elbridge Gerry: St. Charles Hotel, 3d and Pennsylvania.
Rep. Andrew Johnson: Mrs. Davis', north side of E Street between 9th and 10th.
Rep. David Wilmot: Mrs. Scott's, south side of Pennsylvania between 3d and $4\frac{1}{2}$ Streets.

1853

Vice President William R. King: south side of C Street between ed and $4\frac{1}{2}$.
Secretary of War Charles M. Conrad: north side of F Street between 13th and 14th.
Secretary of the Interior A. H. Stuart: south side of C Street between 3d and $4\frac{1}{2}$.
Senator Lewis Cass: St. Charles Hotel, 3d and Pennsylvania.
Senator Salmon P. Chase: south side of C Street between 3d and $4\frac{1}{2}$.

Senator Hannibal Hamlin: Mrs. Scott's, Pennsylvania Avenue between 3d and $4\frac{1}{2}$.
 Senator William H. Seward: north side of F Street between 6th and 7th.
 Senator Benjamin F. Wade: Mr. Hyatt's, south side of Pennsylvania between 6th and 7th.
 Speaker of the House Linn Boyd: United States Hotel, Pennsylvania between 3d and $4\frac{1}{2}$ Streets.
 Rep. John C. Breckinridge: Mrs. Peterson's, 10th Street between E and F.
 Rep. Andrew Johnson: United States Hotel.
 Rep. Horace Mann: National Hotel, 6th and Pennsylvania.
 Rep. John C. Mason: United States Hotel.
 Rep. Thaddeus Stevens: National Hotel; then changed to Mrs. Taylor's, south side of Pennsylvania between $4\frac{1}{2}$ and 6th Streets.
 Rep. Alexander H. Stevens: Mrs. Duncan's, Louisiana Avenue between $4\frac{1}{2}$ and 6th Streets.
 Rep. Robert Toombs: Mrs. Duncan's.
 Rep. Sam Houston: Mrs. Crutchett's, 6th and D Streets.
 Sculptor Clark Mills had his studio for the Jackson statue at the southwest corner of 15th and Pennsylvania.
 Painter John Mix Stanley: south side of Pennsylvania Avenue between 10th and 12th.
 General Winfield Scott: north side of H between 13th and 14th.

1855

Secretary of the Treasury James Guthrie: F Street between 13th and 14th.
 Secretary of War Jefferson Davis: east side of 13th Street between E and Pennsylvania.
 Postmaster General James Campbell: south side of C Street between 3d and $4\frac{1}{2}$ Streets.
 Chief Justice Roger B. Taney: Morrison's Building, west side of $4\frac{1}{2}$ Street between C and Pennsylvania.
 Justice James M. Wayne: Morrison's Building.
 Justice John Catron: Mrs. Murray's, $4\frac{1}{2}$ and Pennsylvania.
 Justice Samuel Nelson: Morrison's Building.
 Justice Robert C. Grier: Morrison's Building.
 Justice Benjamin R. Curtis: $4\frac{1}{2}$ and C Streets.
 Senator John Bell: 14th Street between Pennsylvania and F.
 Senator Lewis Chass: Willard's Hotel, 14th and Pennsylvania.
 Senator Salmon P. Chase: Mrs. Stettinius', south side of Louisiana (now Indiana) Avenue between 5th and D Streets.

Senator Hannibal Hamlin: St. Charles Hotel, 3d and Pennsylvania.
 Senator R.M.T. Hunter: south side of F Street between 9th and 10th.
 Senator James M. Mason: same.
 Senator William H. Seward: north side of F Street between 6th and 7th.
 Senator John Slidell: south side of E Street between 8th and 9th.
 Senator Charles Sumner: 6th Street between D and E.
 Rep. Thomas Hart Benton: C Street between 3d and $4\frac{1}{2}$.
 Speaker of the House Linn Boyd: Willard's Hotel, 14th and Pennsylvania.
 Rep. William Marcy Tweed: Kirkwood House, Pennsylvania Avenue between 11th and 12th.
 Rep. John C. Breckinridge: Mrs. Murray's, $4\frac{1}{2}$ and Pennsylvania.

1858

Secretary of the Navy Isaac Toucey, northeast corner $4\frac{1}{2}$ and C Streets.
 Senator John Bell: 14th Street between Pennsylvania and F.
 Senator Jacob Collamer: Willard's Hotel, 14th and Pennsylvania.
 Senator John J. Crittenden: National Hotel, 6th and Pennsylvania.
 Senator William P. Fessenden: $4\frac{1}{2}$ Street between C and Pennsylvania.
 Senator Hannibal Hamlin: St. Charles Hotel, 3d and Pennsylvania.
 Senator Sam Houston: north side of Pennsylvania between 12th and 13th.
 Senator R.M.T. Hunter: Louisiana (now Indiana) Avenue between 6th and 7th.
 Senator Andrew Johnson: north side of Pennsylvania between 2d and 3d.
 Senator James M. Mason: Louisiana Avenue between 6th and 7th.
 Senator Charles Sumner: north side of F between 14th and 15th.
 Senator Benjamin Wade: south side of Pennsylvania between 6th and 7th.
 Rep. Schuyler Colfax: Mrs. Holmead's, east side of $4\frac{1}{2}$ Street between C and Pennsylvania.
 Rep. Golusha Grow: Mrs. Wilson's, south side of Pennsylvania between $4\frac{1}{2}$ and 6th Streets.
 Rep. Justin S. Morrill: south side of Pennsylvania between 6th and 7th.
 Rep. Thomas Ruffin: Brown's Indian Queen Hotel, Pennsylvania Avenue between 6th and 7th.
 Artist John Mix Stanley: north side of Pennsylvania between 11th and 12th.
 Artist Constantino Brumidi: south side of Indiana between 1st and 2d.
 Artist Charles Bird King: east side of 12th Street between C and D.

1862

Vice President Hannibal Hamlin: Washington House Old St. Charles, 3d and Pennsylvania.
 Secretary of the Treasury Salmon P. Chase: corner 6th and E Streets.

Attorney General Edward Bates: south side of F Street between 6th and 7th.
Chief Justice Roger B. Taney: south side of Indiana Avenue near 4th Street.
Senator William P. Fessenden: east side of 7th Street between E and F, across from Patent Office.
Senator Andrew Johnson: St. Charles Hotel, 3d and Pennsylvania.
Senator Charles Sumner: north side of F Street between 14th and 15th.
Senator Benjamin F. Wade: south side of Pennsylvania between 6th and 7th Streets.
Senator David Wilmot: Willard's Hotel, 14th and Pennsylvania.
Rep. Roscoe Conkling: 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ and C Streets.
Rep. John J. Crittenden: National Hotel, 6th and Pennsylvania.
Rep. Francis P. Blair: south side F Street between 12th and 13th.
Speaker of the House Golusha Grow: north side of E Street between 9th and 10th.
Ethnologist Henry R. Schoolcraft: north side of F Street between 13th and 14th.
Artist John Mix Stanley: studio 9th Street between Pennsylvania and D; home 12th Street between I and K.
Artist Constantino Brumidi: north side of 2d Street between D and E.
Artist Charles Bird King: east side of 12th Street between C and D.

1866

Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase: 6th and E Streets.
Senator William Sprague: 6th and E Streets.

1870

Attorney General E. R. Hoar: 1405 F Street, N. W. (north side).
Senator Hannibal Hamlin: 467 C Street, N. W.
Senator Justin S. Morrill: 467 C Street, N. W.

1874

Senator Simon Cameron: Willard's Hotel, 14th and Pennsylvania.
Senator Roscoe Conkling: Willard's Hotel.
Senator Hannibal Hamlin: Willard's Hotel.
Senator John A. Logan: Willard's Hotel.
Rep. Joseph G. Cannon: National Hotel, 6th and Pennsylvania.
Rep. Lucius Q. C. Lamar, 1418 F Street (south side).

1878

Vice President William A. Wheeler: Riggs House, 15th and G, N. W.
Postmaster General David M. Key: Ebbitt House, 14th and F Streets.
Justice Nathan Clifford: National Hotel, 6th and Pennsylvania.
Senator Henry L. Davis: Ebbitt House.
Senator Lucius Q. C. Lamar: Willard's Hotel, 14th and Pennsylvania.
Rep. Joseph G. Cannon: National Hotel.
Rep. William McKinley: Ebbitt House.
Rep. Alexander H. Stephens: National Hotel.
General William T. Sherman: Ebbitt House.
Sculptor Vinnie Ream: 235 Pennsylvania Avenue.

1882

Justice Stanley Matthews: Riggs House, 15th and G, N. W.
Speaker of the House J. W. Keifer: Ebbitt House, 14th and F Streets.
President pro tem of the Senate David Davis: National Hotel, 6th
and Pennsylvania.
Senator Wade Hampton: Metropolitan Indian Queen Hotel, Pennsylvania
Avenue between 6th and 7th.
Senator L. Q. C. Lamar: Metropolitan Indian Queen Hotel.
Rep. Joseph G. Cannon: National Hotel.
Rep. Alexander H. Stephens: National Hotel.

1886

Senator Wade Hampton: Metropolitan Indian Queen Hotel, Pennsylvania
Avenue between 6th and 7th.
Senator James F. Wilson: 623 13th Street (between F and G).
Speaker of the House John G. Carlisle: Riggs House, 15th and G, N.W.
Rep. Joseph G. Cannon: Willard's Hotel.
Rep. William McKinley: Ebbitt House.

1890

Senator Wade Hampton: Metropolitan Indian Queen Hotel, Pennsylvania
Avenue between 6th and 7th Streets.
Senator James F. Wilson: 623 13th Street, N. W.
Rep. William McKinley: Ebbitt House.